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CONTENTS

EMERSON'S SEA SHELLS . . . . . MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN

EMERSON'S EARLY LECTURES—A REVIEW . . . . . KENNETH W. CAMERON

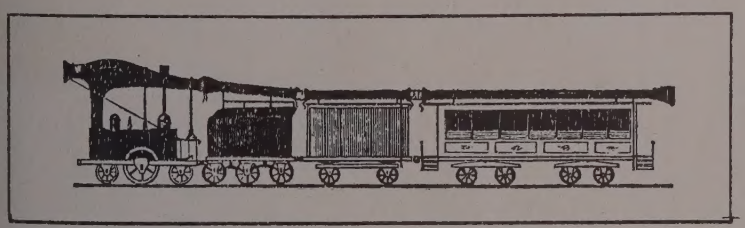
THE CHALLENGE OF EMERSON'S EARLY LECTURES . . . . KENNETH W. CAMERON

A NEW SOURCE FOR EMERSON'S LECTURES . . . . . KENNETH W. CAMERON

OUR CONTEMPORARY NEED OF EMERSON: A POEM . . . . LEONARD B. GRAY

FINISHED—A POEM . . . . . LEONARD B. GRAY

NOTES ON THE EARLY LECTURES . . . . . KENNETH W. CAMERON



THE EARLY LECTURES OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON

By Stephen E. Whicher and Robert E. Spiller

First famed as a lecturer, Emerson turned his successful appearances on the rostrum to use when he wrote his books. Of his many different lectures still existing in manuscript only a few have been published. The purpose of this edition is to make available in a readable and critical text the surviving lectures of Emerson's earlier years.

This volume contains all the lectures from the apprentice period (1833-1835) when he was closest to the Lyceum fashion, and was working on subjects known to have popular appeal. Manuscripts for two more similar volumes of lectures, scheduled for later publication, complete the picture of his evolution as a lecturer.

Emerson's Sea Shells

MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN

Alfred University

SIMPLY BECAUSE OF ITS NEWNESS THERE IS UNDERSTANDABLY A FUZZINESS about the method and content of American Studies as it concerns a teacher of American literature. But I find an exuberant spirit in it. It has rediscovered an Emersonian truth.

In Emerson's "Each and All" the poet describes finding some sea shells and what he did with them and what happened to them and to him:

> The delicate shells lay on the shore:
> The bubbles of the latest wave
> Fresh pearls to their enamel gave,
> And the bellowing of the savage sea
> Greeted their safe escape to me.
> I wiped away the weeds and foam,
> I fetched my sea-born treasures home;
> But the poor, unsightly, noisome things
> Had left their beauty on the shore
> With the sun and the sand and the wild uproar.

American Studies actively seeks—not accidentally finds—relation of each to all. While our content is abundant, our method has not hardened into a formalism.

We have wisely returned to Emerson after a half century of literary analysis heavily freighted with Germanic scholarship or scientism unrelated to significant cultural criticism. Obviously not repudiating scholarship, American Studies insists upon cultural criticism. It makes American literature discussable (in James's sense in "The Art of Fiction") in terms of the web of life—discussable, mind you, in someone's living room, in mixed company, among non-specialists, over a drink. American Studies is aware of more than the specialist discipline out of which its inquiry originates. It implicates the many varieties of the intellectual experience.

Its many-sidedness is an intellectual relief after the specialist influence-and-sources criticism, the symbolism-ambiguity-architectonics-tension criticism, and the free associationism of both New Critics and psychoanalytic criticism. It is ultimately socially oriented—generally committed and generously hospitable to ideas without insisting upon specific myth interpretations, symbol interpretations, ordeal interpretations, or artist-as-enemy/victim-of-society interpretation. Its synoptic quality takes literature out of the hands of the revisionists (by insisting on history) and out of the hands of the tragic existentialists (by its pragmatic view of the each and all relation).

In point of truth, it is unrewarding to view American Studies cynically as an instrumentality of American literature teachers to wrest departmental power from English literature teachers. Equally unconvincing is the charge that academically "disreputable" dissertation topics found a home in the Cannery Row of American Studies. Least credence can be given the suspicious opinion that American Studies is a mild academic virus of chauvinism.[1] American Studies is better viewed as a lively, new, promising, incipient pedagogical pragmatism bringing history out of Germanicism and philosophy out of the Socratic basket in the clouds. Far from repudiating Germanicism it seeks a Germanic postulate, the American *Weltanschauung*, "temper" or "genius."

American Studies is a mode of seeing what all art is concerned with: "the expression of significant relations between human beings, or between minds and things."[2] I claim for it no more than the physicist does for his "picture" of the atom; than the mathematician does for his equation; than the chemist does for his letter group H_2O. Picture, equation and signs of chemical compound are representations, that is, re-presentations, of the think talked about. So a play is a dialogue in which the world around and in which the talk of actors is suggested, pictured, signified. The play insists that we view it as such. At this point the complications of actor, audience, playwright, producer, lighting director and costume designer, box office manager and newspaper drama critic, play reader and academic literary historian enter. It is to the pattern *(gestalt)* that I especially point.

It is the pattern that suggests to American Studies a context for criticism. Let us agree that the work of art is a thing-in-itself. To explain

1 See Marvin Wachman, "Chauvinism and American Studies," *American Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, November, 1958.

2 André Malraux, "Sketch for a Psychology of the Moving Pictures," in Susanne K. Langer, *Reflections on Art* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1958), p. 326.

Reprinted from the American Quarterly, XII, no. 2 Part 2 (Summer, 1960), pp. 231-236, with the kind permission of both the periodical and Professor Bernstein.

the thing-in-itself in terms of itself is an act of supererogation. It is tautological. Criticism best looks at the work of art from a point starting in the work of art itself, but yet of necessity outside it. Whatever the work of art is to the artist (self-expression, therapy, money, fame, immortality, power, love, compulsion) in its publication it literally becomes a public event and steps into time and space—into the world around us and in which we are actors.

This public event is interpretable in various terms: as a form, as language, as related to its author (biography, psychology), as related to its audience (social history, with all its ologies and isms). Until recently, we saw the writer as one moving in an exiguous tradition of sources and influences, tradition and revolt. If this was a gold mine, I fear the vein has run out. It may have been a relatively long vein, but I insist it was positively narrow, with many instances of prospectors finding academic fool's gold. It doggedly defined literary events in terms of literary events—a rude, ignorant, self-doomed enterprise.

Of course, there is a logic to aesthetics.[3] And there are also questions of ethics and ideology to be found in aesthetics. For example, isn't the aesthetic of Aristotle a rationalization of the polis of Hellenic Athenian society? Isn't the aesthetic of Longinus a rationalization of the Hellenic and Hellenistic, the western and the oriental, society of (perhaps) Alexandria of the first or second centuries A.D.? Isn't the aesthetic of Horace the rationalization of the *res publica* mind of Augustan imperial, metropolitan, cosmopolitan Rome? Doesn't nativism explain much of the aesthetic of Dante, of Sidney, of Dryden? Doesn't religiousness qualify the aesthetic of Coleridge; aristocracy, of Poe; thou shalt be unto me a people of priestly democrats, of Whitman? Isn't it a clear matter of relation of each to all?

This is to say that American Studies is not an additive operation. It is a rethinking of the deepening American experience with American time on American land bounded by Melville's seas on the shores of which Emerson's sea shells lie—not to be removed (no matter our lust) but studied in place and time and in relation.[4]

If in physics we have now to rethink our concepts of space, time, matter and motion; if in theology we have now to rethink an abandoned concern with sin and guilt; if in philosophy we have now to interrogate older conceptions with the newer ones of mathematical logic, semantics and phenomenology; if these representative new directions have their issue in statements of humanism, existentialism, neo-Thomism, then it seems inescapable that American Studies must now rethink the literary studies of Wendell, Pattee, Parrington, the CHAL, the LHUS, Matthiessen, Kazin, Cargill, D. H. Lawrence, Brooks, Cowley and Wilson. My point is that the study of aesthetics leads us, if I am right, to interrogate the social complex out of which the work of art comes and to which criticism is inescapably responsible.

The error of extraction and abstraction of things studied from their living environment in time and space and in the world of men, located in a favoring place on earth which nourished them by citizenship, parentage, civic duties, education and the circumambient climate of opinion in which they had their argumentatively artistic being—this is the repented error of Emerson taking away the sea shells from the shore.

Such a new, hard look at American civilization approached through the disciplined study of literature with relation made to the other areas of American life and ineluctably to the world scene cannot be simplistic, reductivist. It requires enthusiasm, a Jamesian passionateness. The *facts* of the gestalt, the pattern, need to be rehearsed, relived. Hard is the descent into the library of facts of the past. We don't step into the present stream of historical life twice; how can we do it in the past stream of history? What is it we seek? It seems to me we seek the spirit, the emotion, the feelings of the event, the person, the book, the idea.

It is at this point that American Studies criticism reunites with the work of art—with feeling, with emotion, with the dark underground of existence made concrete as the artistic case may be in dialogue, narration, description, dialectics, terra cotta, structural steel, video screen images, or directions in a musical score pointing to *andante* or *con brio*. Scholarship is not the kidnaping of the Elgin Marbles from Greece and placing them in a British museum out of context of their space-time functional existence.

What is important for me when assessing the American past is representing to my mind the sense of realizable excitement immanent in the mimetic activity of American art projecting for public seeing the quest of possibility to be distributed among many at home and ultimately to many abroad. The Puritans sought the City of God; the Cavaliers, El Dorado; Enlightenment intellectuals, creature comfort; Abolitionists, no human slavery; western pioneers, free air and elbow room; reformers, the killing of the Adamic curse of sweated work in a Social Darwinist world; Americans generally, first, the desire of plenty materially symbolized both in the recurrent calendar images of the groaning Thanksgiving Dinner table and department stores at Christmas time gorged to the aisles with wares, and secondly, peace arbitrated, ungarrisoned and

[3] See, for instance, Monroe C. Beardsley's *Aesthetics* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1958).

[4] In this respect see "The Winterthur Program in Early American Culture in Delaware," *American Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 4, July, 1959. See also Susanne K. Langer and Eugene Gadol, "The Deepening Mind," *American Quarterly*, II (Summer, 1950), 118-32.

unblemished by ubiquitous uniformed soldiers. The excitement of all these sequential American moments are dyed with equally colorful resistances of ecclesiastical bureaucracy, theological insensitivity, the traumas of the American Revolution and the Civil War, the exhaustion of the frontier, the impingement of the old, old wars of Europe on the sons of American families, and the challenging boast of a Soviet materialism zealously greater than our own projected in the nightmarish image of a mushroom cloud.

These are our studies, our American Nature. The significance in its day of Emerson's "The American Scholar" was that he wanted Americans to relate themselves to the American scene (called "Nature"), to books and action, and thereby become American scholars. The fact is that we today are American scholars. We have become the thing he called for. We must be. Why else the interest in us evidenced in American Studies activities in the universities of the globe? If others find us studiable in the context of our national character, there's more than chauvinism at work.[5]

I realize that this is a pragmatic argument and there are pragmatisms of error as well as truth. But apart from our power stance, our dollar stance, our materialistic stance—and however much their attractiveness to curious and wishful Japanese, Scandinavian and continental European contemporaries—the American literature of Hawthorne, Poe, Melville, Twain, James, Whitman, Emerson and Thoreau moves in the world related to the genetics of the American experience. These men are particulars among the general, regionalists among the universalists, but, and precisely, American writers among men of letters everywhere.

The many-sidedness of American Studies awaits its many-sided investigators. "The American myth," observed R. W. B. Lewis, "unlike the Roman [myth of Vergil] was not fashioned ultimately by a single man of genius. It was and it has remained a collective affair; it must be pieced together out of an assortment of essays, orations, poems, stories, histories and sermons." [6] Understanding this, it is for this reason that American literary scholarship is at present a virile activity.

Certainly, in the years immediately ahead of us, considering the millions seeking college entrance we will not languish for the lack of an interested audience. Certainly, we'll discover more and more American elements in the literary art, the word-music-dance art, the musical comedy art, the word-picture art of television—just as we've discovered the familiar insistence of the common hymn meter in Emily Dickinson, the delectableness of American speech patterns in Mark Twain, and the fear of miscegenation that provides some of the melodrama of the novels of Cooper and Faulkner.

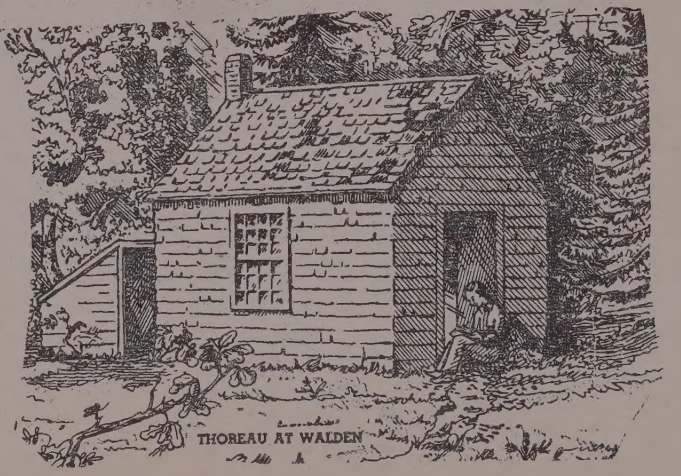
Certainly, the literary arts will find a point of equilibrium between the elitist salon of European custom and the democratic saloon memorialized in emblematic shambles in the TV horse opera. Certainly, American Studies will observe the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts with its new Philharmonic Hall, a new Metropolitan Opera House, a relocated Juilliard School, a permanent repertory theater group, a dance theater, a library museum—all with up-to-date facilities for televising these unrigged events to a vast American (and, presumably, worldwide) audience. And certainly, American Studies if it chooses can go in the direction suggested by Max Lerner's talk to the ASA in the Hotel Statler in December, 1958.[7]

There is no need for us to feel anxious about literary investigations that help to define 180 million Americans. American literature speaks of a public event, and it relates to the world. I sincerely feel (and at the moment it is an intuition rather than a demonstrable fact) that through American Studies we are on the shores of light rather than darkness, on the margin of a period of substantial intellectual synthesis. America's coming-of-age is, indeed, a fact. We recognize it. Critics of other lands and peoples recognize it. We have the ripeness. Now, relation is all.

5 See "The American Imagination," *Times (London) Literary Supplement,* November 6, 1959.

6 *The American Adam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 4.

7 Printed in *American Quarterly,* XI (Summer, 1959 Supplement), 211-24.



THOREAU AT WALDEN

Indian Superstition

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON

EDITED WITH

A Dissertation on Emerson's Orientalism at Harvard by

KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

The Friends of the Dartmouth Library

HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1954

TRANSCENDENTAL BOOKS
DRAWER 1080 HARTFORD 1

Price to LIBRARIES:
$10 less 20 o/o + Postage.

This volume—long out of print—was issued by the Friends of the Dartmouth Library. The edition was limited—the distribution of copies intended largely for Library Associates. (It cannot be reprinted.)

It is important to Emerson Scholarship because of its detailed notes, its extensive index, and the "Dissertation on Emerson's Orientalism at Harvard"—a study that has extended into the early period the investigations of Carpenter and Christy.

We laid aside TEN COPIES during the brief sale to the public and are reserving them for scholars and libraries that failed to secure it.

EMERSON'S EARLY LECTURES – A REVIEW

The volume before us contains twenty of Emerson's earliest platform exercises, with a competent introduction, factual prefaces, and illuminating notes. A bibliography, an impressive section on variant readings, and an index complete the work, which is illustrated by reproductions of selected pages of the manuscripts. The whole is a treasure which will do more to stimulate Emerson studies than any Transcendental scriptures to appear since the publication of the Journals (1909-1914), and with the forthcoming Journals and Notebooks it will probably change the climate of opinion regarding Emerson both as artist and American. In this first volume of a projected set of three we have the words of young Emerson as he approached the writing of Nature (1836) when the lyceum movement was young and his romanticism was fresh and unqualified. Since his philosophy and art spiralled from his earliest days, we have long needed this segment of his literary expression adequately to trace the transmutations of his thought and the development of his imagery. Those of us who once feared that the early lectures might never appear because they had once been rejected by a literary executor know how to be grateful to Messrs. Whicher and Spiller for prevailing on the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association to change the ancient policy. Under lock and key for one hundred and twenty-seven years, they now appear in beautiful type, in an attractive format, and with margins wide enough for hundreds of additional notes—happily ending a long and difficult problem for the researcher. With these new materials we shall have to begin revising the old studies that dealt with Emerson and such topics as science, evolution, the Bible, rhetoric, the lyceum, metaphysical poets, Bacon, philosophy, style, imagery, and literary criticism—to name only a few. Graduate students ought immediately to realize that the Early Lectures can unlock a hundred opportunities for research in our field until this moment beyond their reach. Many of the works of the mature Emerson, moreover, can now be seen in perspective, can be articulated as stages in a continuous development, and, for the first time, can be worthily re-edited. For anyone henceforth to attempt reappraising an Emerson classic without a demonstrable knowledge of the lectures is unthinkable. The careful eye of Professor Carl F. Strauch, the specialist in Emerson's poetry, will, doubtless, see poems in them. Future biographers will find crises and turning points. Every perceptive student, however, will note links in the chain of ideas, new lustres for studies of imagery, and threads of continuity from the vital adolescent years throughout Emerson's productive adulthood.

Some reviewers may feel that the nearly one hundred and fifty pages given over to the textual notes might have been better invested in more of the lectures themselves. Others will certainly wish that more space had been given to notes and commentary. We would answer this criticism by suggesting that the appendices may eventually permit studies in the Emerson field unsuspected in our day and by pointing to the fact that no Emerson scripture can reveal its full significance in a first or, for that matter, even in a tenth edition. Are not all Emerson's best-known books still awaiting adequate annotation after more than a century? The only justifiable complaint may be levelled against the index, which ought to have been—as it is not—an adequate key to so important a book. The Editors assigned too little space to it, limiting themselves to names and neglecting motifs, themes, key words, sententiae, and philosophical terms—elements with which a serious reader must be concerned. But even in the department of names, their omissions are frequent, and the principle that guided them is difficult to determine. We have space for a few typical examples of omitted details:

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* The Early Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Volume I (1833-1836), ed. Stephen E. Whicher and Robert E. Spiller. Cambridge (Harvard University Press), 1959. Pp. xxvii+545. $12.50.

38.37 Tacitus is mentioned. This page is not listed under "Tacitus" in the index.

44.6 A quotation from Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale. It is not listed under "Shakespeare" in the index.

158.3 Burke is mentioned. The page is not listed in the index.

177.15 Famous lines from Wordsworth's "Rob Roy's Grave." Page 177 is not listed in the index under "Wordsworth."

214.21 A clear reference to Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," which is not listed under "Coleridge" in the index.

251.27 Hume is mentioned. Page 251 is not listed under "David Hume" in the index.

264.-- Twelfth Night, Lear, and Love's Labour's Lost are quoted on this page, which is not listed under "Shakespeare" in the index.

If the Editors will kindly enlarge the scope of the index in each of the two projected volumes, they will increase our already large debt to them.

Emerson indubitably speaks in this volume, which has possibilities probably undreamt of by the Editors or by the distinguished press that issued it—but only if it can reach a larger audience than that for which the present edition has been intended. Its essays can revolutionize the study of Emerson in our schools and colleges and once more attract young readers like those in the old literary and debating societies that invited him to speak on campuses years ago—the avant-garde of a new America. For years we have been ineffectively discussing how to teach Emerson to the undergraduate. The great gulf between the highly condensed philosophic prose of the mature Emerson and the easy reading of our time has not been bridged. One unsatisfactory expedient has been to cast aside chronology and assign a more readable Thoreau before assigning the Emerson of the Essays. The present volume, we believe, is the resolver of our dilemma. Written by young Emerson at the height of his first phase of idealism on the eve of his maturity as a stylist and designed to help citizens of Boston in their self-education, these platform pieces were, and are, captivating from beginning to end. They contain all the ingredients of a successful Freshman or Sophomore anthology: general culture, literature, biography, science, art theory, narration, exposition, oratory, values by which men ought to live, and advice on how to study. For young minds looking for methods and answers, they are timely in numerous ways. They can serve our generation much as Matthew Arnold's essays on literature helped many young minds of his period to find meaningful reading.

As an introduction to the better-known Emerson works usually assigned in our survey courses in American Literature, they cannot be surpassed. The heavy Transcendental philosophy is herein subdued or dealt with obliquely and diffusedly. The style is flowing and not compressed. The ideas are connected by clear transitions because they are directed to hearers rather than readers. The structure is fairly obvious. One finds in them a new Emerson dimension—a classroom or lecture-room intimacy not to be found in the canonical works. For the first time, perhaps, we are permitted to see a side of Emerson's personality which our twentieth century has never known, but which his contemporaries very well knew and found charming. How may these lectures be economically and speedily given to American young people? It is a mistake to advertise them as intended only for scholars. The Chicago University and University of Michigan presses

for some time and without loss have been issuing their expensive and important books as paperbacks, having discovered that the popular format has a public of its own. If the Harvard University Press would make a similar experiment and prepare for classroom use a volume composed of pages ix through 385 of the Early Lectures bound in paper to sell for approximately $3.50, our pedagogical problem might be solved. Or it might enter into an agreement with the Beacon Press or some other that has had experience in distributing to the new field. Among its many other miracles, the paperback may restore Emerson to the American public if we who edit and publish do not confine his liveliest utterances to expensive books designed for scholars.

When the plates are eventually re-run, the following typographical errors should be corrected:

9.10	Longicanda (See Journals, III, 162.)	should be	Longicauda ["long-tail"].
32.21	H[umphrey]	should be	H[umphry].
106.37	in error	should be	an error.
111.17	on object	should be	an object.
171.2	spiritula	should be	spiritual.
331.7	livng	should be	living.
vi.2	The middle initial of the proper name should be "W".		

THE CHALLENGE OF
EMERSON'S EARLY LECTURES

Now that we possess an excellent printed text of Emerson's first lyceum manuscripts, we are ready for the first time in more than a century to give them a close reading and thereby organically to relate them by old and new evidence to all that has preceded and followed them in Emerson's literary evolution. Though to meet this challenge we shall need more tools than are at present available, the possibilities are already apparent. We must, first of all, carefully study the lectures for themselves as essays directed toward a unique public. Because Emerson toned down the strong convictions which he brought back from Europe in order to meet the terms of the Boston lyceum and experiment with his new scholars, we shall have to look carefully to find his indubitable signature in them and listen intently if we are rightly to hear the early Transcendental voice. One is immediately impressed by the fact that he carefully avoided in them lengthy discussions of Coleridge's philosophy or the treasures we know he was discovering in the works of the Boston Swedenborgians. Since Boston was not yet ready to accept the "First Philosophy," he deliberately gave it only indirections and hints. Perhaps at this point in Emerson scholarship we ought to remember the old Spanish proverb about the chief mourner's not coming to the funeral. It is highly probable that some of the principal and most pervasive influences on these early pieces have not yet been identified, though a close reading may disclose them. Attention to seeming contradictions will help us. In one lecture (150.7-9), for example, Emerson seemed to share practical Boston's reservations regarding the mystical Germans and their literature; the underlying evidence points in the opposite direction. On the basis of evidence in the next two studies, a hitherto unsuspected patroness of the early lectures

was the Madame De Staël who wrote Germany, which English-speaking readers had known since 1813 and which Emerson had gleaned with appreciation as early as his senior year at Harvard (1820-1821). (I shall support this assertion in my forthcoming Transcendental Climate.) De Staël's book was a favorite with Mary Moody Emerson, whose copy (three volumes in two, New York, 1814) I recently presented to the Yale University Library.[1] Significantly she wrote in the flyleaf of volume one: "Will Rev. R Waldo Emerson accept this old book in token of the gratitude and affection of one whose oddities are past—whose affections yet live & may be conscious of thier [sic] earthy objects." To demonstrate at this point how, throughout the lectures, De Staël's Germany exerts a strong influence —sometimes modified or clarified by or merged with, the more notable European voices which, in 1834 and 1835, Emerson had come to hear—would require more space than I here dare assign to such a task. A definitive study of the full significance of her work for Emerson study must await the publication of five or six volumes of the Journals and Notebooks. It certainly contributed much to the tone of the early lectures and became a component of the Emerson signature in them.

Germany encouraged Emerson's tendency toward self-reliance, heightened his awareness of the occult relation between man and nature, communicated his first and strongest awareness of Kant's Categorical Imperative, and urged the ascent of man's soul into the ideal world of beauty and goodness. (I shall supply some evidence in the following two studies.) A right understanding of Germany, moreover, will help us read the lectures more perceptively than we have succeeded in doing thus far and will encourage us to value them for themselves and not as mere apprentice work. Germany was chiefly responsible for preparing Emerson's mind for the kindred doctrines of Coleridge, Swedenborg, and Carlyle, whom he embraced in the 1830's.

I have stressed the less obvious challenge first: the need for seeing the lectures in their uniqueness and as indubitable Emerson scripture. But if they constitute a small literary island in an ever-widening river, they obviously must be related to other islands and to the shores. Telephone cables must be laid from them in all directions—and speedily—for we have too long studied Emerson without being able adequately to employ them. Those that easily occur to me are the following:

(1) THE CABLE TO NATURE (1836): My earlier studies have, in some measure, pointed out the relationship of the lectures to that important little book, but the stages in the composition of what Emerson called his "prose poem" remain to be demonstrated. I have this project in mind in connection with a forthcoming annotated edition.

(2) THE CABLE TO THE HARVARD YEARS: The publication of the first three volumes of the new Journals and Notebooks will be indispensable for such a project. Because it will concentrate on Emerson's early years, my forthcoming Transcendental Climate will, I hope, expedite it.

(3) THE CABLE TO THE PUBLISHED SERMONS: A study of comparisons and contrasts in subject matter, tone, and approach will be useful. Though the genres and audiences were different, what parallels can be discovered? How do the lustres differ? What of the methods of composition? What of the principles of organization? We have twenty-five sermons in McGiffert's Young Emerson Speaks as well as an index-concordance to that work in Emerson the Essayist, II, 226-313.

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1 See my short article, "The Rev. R. Waldo Emerson and Aunt Mary's Books," Emerson Society Quarterly, no. 1 (IV Quarter 1955), pp. 6-7. All the books mentioned have recently been presented to the Aldis Collection of American Literature at Yale University.

(4) THE CABLE TO THE UNPUBLISHED SERMONS: It is not likely that they will be permitted to be published until after the lectures and the new Journals and Notebooks shall have been seen through the press, but I have already indicated something of their contents[2] and am about to issue a Concordance, which will lead scholars to sources, motifs, and subjects. Like the early lectures, the sermons will eventually open many hitherto unopened doors.

(5) THE CABLE TO EMERSON'S CRITICISM: Since the lectures contain Emerson's views on prose style, estimates of authors, canons of literary judgment, and touchstones for interpreting a classic, scholarship may have to revise or deepen its opinions concerning Emerson as a critic.

(6) THE CABLE TO EMERSON'S POETRY: The lectures were delivered at about the time Emerson arrived at poetic maturity (1834-1835). Only Professor Carl F. Strauch is probably competent to draw definitive conclusions in this area, which seems to deserve careful exploration.

(7) THE CABLE TO A VAST PERIODICAL LITERATURE: Throughout his early years Emerson read between twenty and thirty monthlies and quarterlies with astonishing regularity. I hope soon to publish a new research tool, Emerson's Reading in Periodicals Through 1836, the index of which will help us identify many allusions in the lectures for which at present we have no clues. Further on I hint at the rich possibilities that lie in this area.

(8) THE CABLE TO EMERSON'S PERSONAL LIBRARY: A catalogue of this important collection will soon be edited by Professor Walter Harding and published by the University of Virginia Press. The early lectures have stronger ties with Emerson's well-marked books than has been suspected. Later on in this volume I give interesting examples of the evidence.

A NEW SOURCE FOR EMERSON'S LECTURES

In this article I shall analyze and reprint significant paragraphs from the first edition of the English translation of De Staël's Germany (published in three volumes in London in 1813)—on the same principle which I employed in dealing with Coleridge, Swedenborg, and others in volume one of Emerson the Essayist. The usefulness of such a procedure will be apparent in the section entitled "Notes on the Early Lectures." But, first, readers should master the rich table of contents of the unabridged work:

GERMANY;

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY THE

BARONESS STAËL HOLSTEIN.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

1813.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

2 See "History and Biography in Emerson's Unpublished Sermons: A Report of Progress and of Research Possibilities," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 12 (III Quarter 1958), pp. 2-9. (Originally published in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1956.)

CONTENTS.

General Observations - - - Page 1

PART THE FIRST.

OF GERMANY, AND THE MANNERS OF THE GERMANS.

CHAP. I. *Of the Aspect of Germany* - - 11
CHAP. II. *Of the Manners and Character of the Germans* - - - 17
CHAP. III. *Of the Women* - - 37
CHAP. IV. *Of the Influence of the Spirit of Chivalry on Love and Honour* - - 43
CHAP. V. *Of Southern Germany* - - 53
CHAP. VI. *Of Austria* - - 57
CHAP. VII. *Vienna* - - - 69
CHAP. VIII. *Of Society* - - - 80
CHAP. IX. *Of the Desire among Foreigners of imitating the French Spirit* - - 86
CHAP. X. *Of supercilious Folly, and benevolent Mediocrity* - - - 97
CHAP. XI. *Of the Spirit of Conversation* - 101
CHAP. XII. *Of the German Language, in its Effects upon the Spirit of Conversation* - 123
CHAP. XIII. *Of Northern Germany* - - 130
CHAP. XIV. *Saxony* - - 138
CHAP. XV. *Weimar* - - - 146
CHAP. XVI. *Prussia* - - - 152

CHAP. XVII. *Berlin* - - Page 161
CHAP. XVIII. *Of the German Universities* 171
CHAP. XIX. *Of particular Institutions for Education, and Charitable Establishments* 184
The Fete of Unterseen - - 201

PART THE SECOND.

ON LITERATURE AND THE ARTS.

CHAP. I. *Why are the French unjust to German Literature?* - - - 211
CHAP. II. *Of the Judgment formed by the English on the subject of German Literature* 221
CHAP. III. *Of the principal Epochs of German Literature* - - - 228
CHAP. IV. *Wieland* - - - 235
CHAP. V. *Klopstock* - - - 241
CHAP. VI. *Lessing and Winckelmann* - 254
CHAP. VII. *Goëthe* - - - 265
CHAP. VIII. *Schiller* - - - 273
CHAP. IX. *Of Style, and of Versification in the German Language* - - - 280

CHAP. X. *Of Poetry* - - - 294
CHAP. XI. *Of Classic and Romantic Poetry* 304
CHAP. XII. *Of German Poems* - - 313
CHAP. XIII. *Of German Poetry* - - 344
CHAP. XIV. *Of Taste* - - - 378

CHAP. XV. *Of the Dramatic Art* - - Page 1
CHAP. XVI. *Of the Dramas of Lessing* - 21
CHAP. XVII. *The Robbers, and Don Carlos of Schiller* - - - 32
CHAP. XVIII. *Walstein and Mary Stuart* - 51
CHAP. XIX. *Joan of Arc, and the Bride of Messina* 97
CHAP. XX. *William Tell* - - 124
CHAP. XXI. *Goetz of Berlichingen, and the Count of Egmont* - - - 138
CHAP. XXII. *Iphigenia in Tauris, Torquato Tasso, &c. &c.* - - - 163
CHAP. XXIII. *Faustus* - - 181
CHAP. XXIV. *Luther, Attila, The Sons of the Valley, The Cross on the Baltic, The Twenty-fourth of February, by Werner* - - 227
CHAP. XXV. *Various Pieces of the German and Danish Theatre* - - - 251
CHAP. XXVI. *Of Comedy* - - 271
CHAP. XXVII. *Of Declamation* - - 292
CHAP. XXVIII. *Of Novels* - - 319
CHAP. XXIX. *Of German Historians, and of J. de Müller in particular* - - 351

CHAP. XXX. *Herder* - - Page 364
CHAP. XXXI. *Of the Literary Treasures of Germany, and of its most renowned Critics, A. W. and F. Schlegel* - - - 370
CHAP. XXXII. *Of the Fine Arts in Germany* 389

PART THE THIRD.

PHILOSOPHY AND MORALS.

CHAP. I. *Of Philosophy* - - Page 1
CHAP. II. *Of English Philosophy* - - 10
CHAP. III. *Of French Philosophy* - - 32
CHAP. IV. *Of the Ridicule introduced by a certain Species of Philosophy* - - - 46
CHAP. V. *General Observations upon German Philosophy* - - - 56
CHAP. VI. *Kant* - - - 70
CHAP. VII. *Of the most celebrated Philosophers before and after Kant* - - 99
CHAP. VIII. *Influence of the new German Philosophy over the Developement of the Mind* 128
CHAP. IX. *Influence of the new German Philosophy on Literature and the Arts* - 135
CHAP. X. *Influence of the new Philosophy on the Sciences* - - - 146
CHAP. XI. *Influence of the new Philosophy upon the Character of the Germans* - 168

CHAP. XII. *Of the moral System, founded upon personal Interest* - - - 175
CHAP. XIII. *Of the moral System founded upon National Interest* - - - 186
CHAP. XIV. *Of the Principle of Morals in the new German Philosophy* - - - 202

CHAP. XV. *Of scientific Morality* - Page 213
CHAP. XVI. *Jacobi* - - - 218
CHAP. XVII. *Of Woldemar* - - - 226
CHAP. XVIII. *Of a romantic Bias in the Affections of the Heart* - - - 230
CHAP. XIX. *Of Love in Marriage* - - 236
CHAP. XX. *Modern Writers of the ancient School in Germany* - - - 247
CHAP. XXI. *Of Ignorance and Frivolity of Spirit in their Relations to Morals* - - 257

PART THE FOURTH.

RELIGION AND ENTHUSIASM.

CHAP. I. *General Considerations upon Religion in Germany* - - 267
CHAP. II. *Of Protestantism* - - 278
CHAP. III. *Moravian Mode of Worship* 293
CHAP. IV. *Of Catholicism* - - 300
CHAP. V. *Of the religious Disposition called Mysticism* - - 316
CHAP. VI. *Of Pain* - - - 336
CHAP. VII. *Of the religious Philosophers called Theosophists* - - - 351
CHAP. VIII. *Of the Spirit of Sectarism in Germany* 357
CHAP. IX. *Of the Contemplation of Nature* 368
CHAP. X. *Of Enthusiasm* - - 388
CHAP. XI. *Of the Influence of Enthusiasm on Learning* - - - 395
CHAP. XII. *Influence of Enthusiasm upon Happiness* - - - - 403

THE NEW SCHOOL OF GERMAN PHILOSOPHY——GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS——IT SOARS TO THE TRANSCENDENT VERITIES——IT RECAPTURES THE IDEALISM OF ANCIENT INDIA——ITS FOCUS IS THE SOUL OR THE WILL——IT SEEKS TO COMPREHEND THE INCOMPREHENSIBLE.

¶ 1

What is truly admirable in German philosophy is the examination of ourselves to which it leads; it ascends even to the origin of the will, even to the unknown spring of the course of our life; and then penetrating the deepest secrets of grief, and of faith, it enlightens and strengthens us. [III, 120].

¶ 2

The Orientalists have at all times been idealists, and Asia in no respect resembles the south of Europe. The excessive heat in those countries leads to contemplation, as the excessive cold of the north does. The religious systems of India are very melancholy and spiritual, whilst the people of the south of Europe have always had an inclination for rather a material kind of Paganism. The learned of England, who have travelled into India, have made deep researches about Asia; and Germans who have not had opportunities, like the princes of the Ocean, to inform themselves with their own eyes, have, by dint of study alone, arrived at very interesting discoveries on the religion, the literature, the languages, of the Asiatic nations; they have been led to think, from many indications, that supernatural lights once shone upon the people of those countries, and that the traces of it still remain indelible. The philosophy of the Indians can only be sufficiently understood by the German idealists; a similarity of opinion assists them in comprehending it. [III, 121-122].

¶ 3

The new German philosophy is necessarily more favourable than any other to the extension of the mind; for, referring every thing to the focus

of the soul, and considering the world itself as governed by laws, the type of which is in ourselves; it does not admit the prejudice which destines every man exclusively to such or such a branch of study. The idealists believe, that an art, a science, or any other subject, cannot be understood without an universal knowledge, and that from the smallest phaenomenon up to the greatest, nothing can be learnedly examined, or poetically described, without that elevation of mind which sees the whole, while it is describing the parts. [III, 129-131].

¶ 4

Intellectual idealism makes the will (which is the soul) the centre of every thing: the principle of idealism in physical sciences is life.... "We must," said Fichte, "comprehend what is incomprehensible, as such." This singular expression contains a profound meaning: we must feel and recognise what will ever remain inaccessible to analysis, and what the soaring flight of thought alone can approach.

¶ 5

[V]olition, which is life, and life, which also is volition, comprehend all the secret of the universe and of ourselves; and at this secret (as we can neither deny nor explain it) we must necessarily arrive by a kind of divination.... What then is this mysterious power of nature which manifests itself by the will of man? and how, without studying its cause and effects, can we make any important discovery in the theory of physical powers? [III, 154-155].

IT ENCOURAGES SELF-RELIANCE IN LITERARY EXPRESSION——IT REPUDIATES THE TOO NARROW VIEW OF NATURE SUCH AS FRENCH SCIENTISTS MANIFEST——IT SEES EVERYTHING IN SPACE AND TIME FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF SOUL OR ETERNITY (SUB SPECIE AETERNITATIS) ——HENCE A NEW DIRECTION IN THE STUDY OF ALL SCIENCES——THE UNIVERSE, NO LONGER CONCEIVED OF AS A MACHINE, IS A LIVING POEM!

¶ 6

The literary theory of the Germans differs from all others, in not subjecting writers to customs, nor to tyrannical restrictions. It is a creative theory, a philosophy of the fine arts, which, instead of confining them, seeks, like Prometheus, to steal fire from heaven, to give it to the poets. Did Homer, Dante, or Shakespeare, I shall be asked, know any thing of all this? Did they stand in need of all this metaphysical reasoning to be great writers? Nature, undoubtedly, has not waited for philosophy; which means only, that the fact preceded the observation of the fact; but, as we have reached the epoch of theories, should we not be on our guard against those which may stifle talent? [III, 141].

¶ 7

The Germans have combatted its [i.e., materialistic or experimental philosophy's] influence in the physical sciences, as well as in science of a higher order; and while they submit nature to the fullest observation, they consider her phaenomena, in general, in a vast and animated manner: the empire of an opinion over the imagination always affords a presumption in its favour; for every thing tells us, that beauty, in the sublime conception of the universe, is truth. [III, 147].

¶ 8

Literature and science reflect alternate light upon each other; and the connexion which exists between all the objects in nature, must also be maintained among the ideas of man.

¶ 9

Universality of knowledge necessarily leads to the desire of discovering the general laws of the order of nature. The Germans descend from theory to experience; while the French ascend from experience to theory.... The Germans reproach the French with considering only particular facts in the sciences, and with not referring them to a system: in this consists the principal difference

between the learned men of the two countries. [III, 149-150].

¶ 10

In fact, if it was possible to discover the principles which govern the universe, this would be the point, indisputably, from which we ought to commence in studying all that is derived from those principles: but we are almost entirely ignorant of the collective character of every thing, excepting in what detail teaches us; and nature, for the eye of man, is but the scattered Sibyl's leaves, out of which, even to this day, no human being has composed a book. Nevertheless, the learned men of Germany, who are philosophers at the same time, diffuse a surprising interest over the phaenomena of this world: they do not examine nature fortuitously, or according to the accidental course of what they experience; but they predict, by reflection, what observation is about to confirm. [III, 149-150].

¶ 11

The theory of the sciences in Germany has given the men of genius an impulse like that which metaphysics had excited in the study of the mind; and life holds the same rank in physical phaenomena, that the will holds in moral order.... It is at least certain, that the interest of the sciences is singularly increased by this manner of referring them all to some leading ideas. Poets might find in the sciences a crowd of useful thoughts, if the sciences held communication with each other in the philosophy of the universe; and if this philosophy, instead of being abstract, was animated by the inexhaustible source of sentiment. The universe resembles a poem more than a machine; and if, in order to form a conception of the universe, we were compelled to avail ourselves of imagination, or of a mathematical spirit, imagination would lead us nearer to the truth. But again let me repeat, we must not make such a choice; since it is the totality of our moral being which ought to be employed in so important a kind of meditation. [III, 164-165].

IT UNDERSTANDS THE SPIRITUAL OR NON-UTILITARIAN PURPOSE OF ANCIENT SCIENCE——IT SEES SIGNIFICANCE IN THE OUTREACHINGS OF WHAT ARE CALLED PSEUDO-SCIENCES——IT RESPECTS THE ANCIENT MYSTERIES AND OCCULTISMS FOR TESTIMONY OF A ONCE-CLOSE SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAN AND THE UNIVERSE.

¶ 12

Astronomy has not been studied for the service of agriculture alone: but the Chaldeans, Egyptians, &c. have carried their researches much beyond the practical advantages which are to be derived from it; and the love of heaven, and the worship of time, are supposed to be shown in these profound and exact observations, respecting the divisions of the year, the courses of the stars, and the periods of their junction. [III, 124-125].

¶ 13

In China, the kings were the first astronomers of their country. They passed nights in contemplating the progress of the stars, and their royal dignity consisted in those exalted species of knowledge, and in those disinterested occupations, which raised them above the vulgar. The magnificent system, which considers civilization as having for its origin a religious revelation, is supported by an erudition, of which the partisans of the materialist doctrines are seldom capable: to be wholly devoted to study, is to be almost an idealist at once. [III, 124-125].

¶ 14

Pascal says, "that astrologers and alchemists have some principles, but that they abuse them." There were, perhaps, of old, more intimate relations between man and nature than now exist. The mysteries of Eleusis; the religion of the Egyptians; the system of emanations among the Indians; the Persian adoration of

the elements and the sun; the harmony of numbers, which was the basis of the Pythagorean doctrine—are vestiges of some curious attraction which united man with the universe. [III, 159].

¶ 15

The doctrines of spirituality, by fortifying the power of reflection, have separated man more from physical influences; and the Reformation, by carrying still farther his tendency towards analysis, has put reason on its guard against the primary impressions of the imagination. The Germans promote the true perfection of the human mind, when they endeavour to awaken the inspirations of nature by the light of thought. [III, 160-161].

¶ 16

Experience every day leads the learned to recognise phaenomena, which men had ceased to believe, because they were mingled with superstitions, and had been the subjects of presages. The ancients have related that stones fell from heaven; and in our days the accuracy of this fact, the existence of which had been denied, is established. The ancients have spoken of showers red as blood, and of earth-lightnings—we have lately been convinced of the truth of their assertions in these respects. [III, 160-161].

¶ 17

Astronomy and music are the science and art which men have known from all antiquity: why should not sounds and the stars be connected by relations which the ancients perceived, and which we may find out again? Pythagoras maintained that the planets were proportionably at the same distance as the seven chords of the lyre; and it is affirmed, that he predicted the new planet which has been discovered between Mars and Jupiter.... From whence then arose these astonishing discoveries, without the aid of experience, and of the new machines of which the moderns are in possession? The reason is this—the ancients advanced boldly, lit by the sun of genius. They made use of reason, the resting-place of human intellect; but they also consulted imagination, the priestess of nature. [III, 160-161].

IN STRESSING THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY IN AND BEHIND ALL THINGS, MODERN GERMAN WRITERS SEE THE EACH IN ALL AND THE ALL IN EACH——THEY RECOGNIZE "CORRESPONDENCES" EVERYWHERE——FOR EXAMPLE, THE AXIOMS OF PHYSICS PARALLEL THE MAXIMS OF ETHICS——THE THOUGHTS OF THE MIND FIND EXTERNAL OBJECTS TO REPRESENT THEM——NATURE SPEAKS A LANGUAGE——DOCTRINE OF THE MICROCOSM——VARIETY IN UNITY——UNITY IN VARIETY.

¶ 18

Montesquieu says, that wit [i.e., wisdom] consists in knowing the resemblance of things which differ, and the difference of things which are alike. If there could exist a theory which would teach a man how to become a wit, it would be that of the understanding as the Germans conceive it; there is no one more favourable to ingenious approximations between external objects and the faculties of the mind; they are the different radii of the same centre. Most physical axioms correspond with moral truths; and universal philosophy, in a thousand ways, represents Nature always the same, and always varying; who is reflected, at full length, in every one of her works, and gives the stamp of the universe to the blade of grass, as well as to the cedar.

¶ 19

This philosophy gives a singular attraction to all kinds of study. The discoveries which we make within ourselves are always interesting; but if it is true that they would enlighten us, on the mysteries even of a world created in our image, what curiosity do they not inspire? The conversation of a German philosopher, such as those I have named, calls to mind the dialogues of Plato; and when you question one of these men, upon any subject whatever, he throws so much light on it, that, in listening to him, you seem to think for the first time, if to think be, as Spinosa says, to identify oneself with Nature by intelligence, and to become one with her. [III, 130-131].

¶ 20

Two great general opinions serve them for guides in studying the sciences;—the one, that the universe is made after the model of the human soul; the other, that the analogy of every part of the universe, with its whole, is so close, that the same idea is constantly reflected from the whole in every part, and from every part in the whole.

¶ 21

It is a fine conception, that has a tendency to discover the resemblance between the laws of the human understanding and those of nature, and that considers the physical world as the basso-relievo of the moral. If the same genius was capable of composing the Iliad, and of carving like Phidias, the Jupiter of the sculptor would resemble the Jupiter of the poet. Why then should not the supreme Intelligence, which formed nature and the soul, have made one the emblem of the other? There is no vain play of fancy in those continual metaphors which aid us in comparing our sentiments with external phaenomena; sadness, with the clouded heaven; composure, with the silver moonlight; anger, with the stormy sea:—it is the same thought of our Creator, transfused into two different languages, and capable of reciprocal interpretation. Almost all the axioms of physics correspond with the maxims of morals. This species of parallel progress, which may be perceived between the world and the mind, is the indication of a great mystery; and every understanding would be struck with it, if any positive discoveries had yet been drawn from this source;—but still, the uncertain lustre that already streams from it carries our views to a great distance.

¶ 22

The analogies between the different elements of external nature together constitute the chief law of the creation—variety in unity, and unity in variety. For example, What is there more astonishing than the connexion between sounds and forms, and between sounds and colours? [III, 150-151].

¶ 23

Every plant, every flower, contains the entire system of the universe; an instant of life conceals eternity within it; the weakest atom is a world, and the world itself, perchance, is but an atom. Every portion of the universe appears to be a mirror, in which the whole creation is represented; and we hardly know which is most worthy of our admiration, thought always the same, or form always different. [III, 152].

IT SOARS ABOVE SENSUAL COGNITIONS——IT IS CONTEMPLATIVE AND SUBJECTIVE——CONCERNED WITH THE "SPIRITUALITY" (NOT THE "MATERIALITY") OF THE HUMAN SOUL——AND WITH THE MYSTERY BEHIND THE UNIVERSE——ITS FOUNDER, IN A SENSE, WAS LEIBNITZ.

¶ 24

Whatever may become of these conjectures, it is certain that the spirituality of the soul, and all the thoughts derived from it, have been easily naturalized among the people of the North; and of all these nations, the Germans have ever showed themselves the most inclined to contemplative philosophy. Leibnitz is their Bacon and their Descartes. We find in this excellent genius all the qualities which the German philosophers in general glory to aim at: immense erudition, perfect good faith, enthusiasm hidden under strict form and method. [III, 58].

¶ 25

If the mystery of the universe is above the understanding of man, still the study of this mystery gives more expansion to the mind. It is in metaphysics as it is in alchemy: in searching for the philosopher's stone, in endeavouring to discover an impossibility, we meet upon the road with truths which would have remained unknown to us: besides, we cannot hinder a meditative being from bestowing some time at least upon the transcendent philosophy; this ebullition of spiritual nature cannot be kept back, without bringing that nature into disgrace. [III, 62].

THE GERMANS ARE GIVEN TO MYSTICISM IN ALL DEPARTMENTS AND CHIEFLY IN RELIGION——THE YIELDING OF THE HUMAN WILL TO GOD——THE HABITUAL ELEVATION OF THE SOUL——UNSELFISHNESS——MYSTICAL PENETRATION INTO THE MEANINGS OF THINGS——THE MYSTICS ARE INTERESTED IN POETRY AND THE FINE ARTS——THE SAME GOAL IS SHARED BY THE PHILOSOPHY OF IDEALISM, THE CHRISTIANITY OF MYSTICISM, AND THE POETRY OF NATURE.

¶ 26

There are no mysteries among [the Mystics], but the mysteries of sentiment applied to religion; the sentiment is at once the clearest, the most simple, and the most inexplicable of things: it is necessary, at the same time, to distinguish the Theosophists, that is to say, those who are busied with philosophical theology, such as Jacob Boëhmen, St. Martin, &c. from the simple Mystics; the former wish to penetrate the secret of the creation; the second confine themselves to their own hearts. Many fathers of the Church, Thomas-à-Kempis, Fenelon, St. François-de-Sales, &c.; and among the Protestants a great number of English and German writers, have been Mystics; that is to say, men who have made religion a sort of affection, and have infused it into all their thoughts, as well as all their actions.

¶ 27

The religious feeling, which is the foundation of the whole doctrine of the Mystics, consists in an internal peace full of life. The agitations of the passions leave no calm; the tranquillity of a dry and moderate understanding destroys the animation of the soul; it is only in religious feeling that we find a perfect union of repose and motion. This disposition is not continual, I think, in any man, however pious he may be; but the remembrance and the hope of these holy emotions decide the conduct of those who have experienced them. [III, 316-317].

¶ 28

The ruling opinion among the mystical Christians is this, that the only homage which can please God is that of the will, which he gave to man: what more disinterested offering can we, in effect, offer to the Divinity? Worship, incense, hymns, have almost always for their object the attainment of the good things of this world; and it is on this account that worldly flattery surrounds monarchs: but to resign ourselves to the will of God, to wish nothing but that which he wishes, is the most pure religious act of which the soul is capable. Thrice is man summoned to yield this resignation; in youth, in manhood, and in age: happy are they who submit at first! [III, 318].

¶ 29

The elevation of the soul towards its Creator is the supreme act of worship among the Christian Mystics; but they do not address the Deity to pray for this or that worldly advantage. A French writer, who has some sublimely bright passages, M. de Saint-Martin, has said, that prayer was the breathing of the soul. The Mystics are, for the most part, convinced, that an answer is given to this prayer; and that the grand revelation of Christianity may be in some degree renewed in the soul, every time that it exalts itself with fervour towards Heaven. When we believe that there no longer exists any immediate communication between the Supreme Being and man, prayer is only a monologue, if we may be allowed the expression; but it becomes an act much more beneficial, when we are persuaded that the Divinity makes himself sensibly felt at the bottom of our hearts. In fact, it does not appear to me possible to deny, that there are emotions within us which do not, in the least, take their origin from external things, and which soothe and support us without the possibility of our attributing them to the ordinary concatenation of the events of life. [III, 322-323].

¶ 30

The doctrine of Mysticism passes for a severe doctrine, because it enjoins us to discard selfishness, and this with reason appears very difficult to be done. But, in fact, Mysticism is the gentlest of all doctrines; it consists in this proverb, make a virtue of necessity. Making a virtue of necessity, in the religious sense, is to attribute to Providence the government of the world, and to

find an inward consolation in this thought. The Mystic writers exact nothing beyond the line of duty, such as honest men have marked it out; they do not enjoin us to create troubles for ourselves; they think that men ought neither to invite affliction, nor be impatient under it when it arrives. [III, 326].

¶ 31

Of all nations, that which has the greatest inclination to Mysticism is the German.... The Protestant religion, which reigns in the North, does not satisfy the imagination of the Germans; and Catholicism being opposed by its nature to philosophical researches, the religious and thinking among the Germans were necessarily obliged to have recourse to a method of feeling religion, which might be applied to every form of worship. Besides, idealism in philosophy has much analogy with Mysticism in religion; the one places all the reality of things in this world in thought, and the other all the reality of things in heaven in feeling.

¶ 32

The Mystics penetrate, with an inconceivable sagacity, into every thing which gives birth in the human mind to fear or hope, to suffering or to happiness; and no sect ascends as they do to the origin of emotions in the soul. There is so much interest in this sort of inquiry, that even those who are otherwise of moderate understanding enough, when they have the least mystical inclination in their hearts, attract and captivate by their conversation, as if they were endowed with transcendent genius.... But religious Mysticism includes so extensive a knowledge, that it gives a decided moral superiority to those who have not received it from nature: they apply themselves to the study of the human heart, which is the first of sciences, and give themselves as much trouble to understand the passions, that they may lull them to rest, as the men of the world do to turn them to advantage. [III, 329-331].

¶ 33

Whatever men of wit may have said, there exists a natural alliance between religion and genius. The Mystics have almost all a bias towards poetry and the fine arts; their ideas are in accord with true superiority of every sort, while incredulous and worldly-minded mediocrity is its enemy:—that mediocrity cannot endure those who wish to penetrate into the soul: as it has put its best qualities on the surface, to touch the core is to discover its wretchedness.

¶ 34

The philosophy of Idealism, the Christianity of Mysticism, and the poetry of nature, have, in many respects, all the same end and the same origin: these philosophers, these Christians, and these poets, all unite in one common desire. They would wish to substitute for the factitious system of society, not the ignorance of barbarous times, but an intellectual culture, which leads us back to simplicity by the very perfection of knowledge: they would, in short, wish to make energetic and reflecting, sincere and generous men, out of all these characters without dignity; these minds without ideas; these jesters without gaiety; these Epicureans without imagination, who, for want of better, are called the human species. [III, 334-335].

LEIBNITZ, THE LEADER OF THE GERMAN IDEALISTIC MOVEMENT, HAD ONE SHORTCOMING——HE RELIED TOO HEAVILY ON HUMAN REASON——HE SHOULD HAVE STRESSED INTUITION MORE THAN HE DID——CERTAIN TRUTHS CAN BE REVEALED ONLY BY THE SOUL——LATER GERMAN METAPHYSICAL AND RELIGIOUS WRITERS SHOWED GREATER RESPECT FOR FEELING AND INTUITION.

¶ 35

Leibnitz was an idealist, who founded his system solely upon reasoning; and from thence it arises, that he has pushed his abstractions too far, and that he has not sufficiently supported his theory upon inward persuasion—the only true foundation of that which is above the understanding: in short, reason upon the liberty of man, and you will not believe it; lay your hand upon your consci-

ence, and you will not be able to doubt it. Consequence and contradiction, in the sense that we attach to either of these terms, do not exist within the sphere of the great questions concerning the liberty of man, the origin of good and evil, the divine prescience, &c. In these questions sentiment is almost always in opposition to reason; in order to teach mankind, that what he calls incredible in the order of earthly things, is perhaps the supreme truth under universal relations.... We must believe certain truths as we believe our own existence; it is the soul which reveals them to us; and reasonings of every kind are never more than feeble streams derived from this fountain. [III, 63].

¶ 36

The metaphysical and religious writers, who are eloquent and feeling at the same time...are much better adapted to our nature. Far from requiring the suppression of our faculties of feeling, in order to make our faculty of abstraction more precise, they bid us think, feel, and wish, that all the strength of our souls may aid us to penetrate into the depths of heaven; but to cling close to abstraction is such an effort, that it is natural enough for the generality of men to have renounced the attempt, and to have thought it more easy to admit nothing beyond what is visible. [III, 66].

LEIBNITZ ADMIRABLY OPPOSED THE MATERIALISM OR SENSUALISM OF JOHN LOCKE, STRESSING THE PRIOR EXISTENCE OF THE SOUL OR MIND OF MAN AND PREPARING THE WAY FOR FICHTE AND SCHELLING.

¶ 37

The objections which I have allowed myself to make to those works of Leibnitz, which aim at the solution of truths insoluble by reasoning, do not at all apply to his writings on the formation of ideas in the human mind; those writings are of a most luminous clearness; they refer to a mystery which man, to a certain degree, can penetrate; for he knows more of himself than of the universe. The opinions of Leibnitz in this respect tend, above all, to our moral perfection, if it be true, as the German philosophers have attempted to prove, that free-will rests upon the doctrine which delivers the soul from external objects, and that virtue cannot exist without the perfect independence of the will.

¶ 38

Leibnitz has opposed, with admirable force of logical reasoning, the system of Locke, who attributes all our ideas to our sensations. The advocates of this system had vaunted of that well-known axiom, that there is nothing in the intellect which has not first been in the senses; and Leibnitz added to it this sublime restriction--"Except the intellect itself." [Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu, nisi intellectus ipse.] From this principle all the new philosophy is derived, which so much influences the men of genius in Germany. This philosophy also is experimental; for it endeavours to learn what is passing within ourselves. It only substitutes the observation of internal feeling for that of our external sensations. [III, 68-69].

KANT FOLLOWS LEIBNITZ---HIS OBJECTIVE---HIS RECOGNITION OF THE MORAL LAW WITHIN ALL MEN---OF INTUITION IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF MORALS AND AESTHETICS---OF THE DIMENSION OF INFINITY---THE SPARK OF SACRED FIRE IN EVERY BOSOM---KANT ON THE SUBLIME---THE UTTERANCE OF ST. AUGUSTINE---INFINITE POSSIBILITIES FOR THE CONTEMPLATION OF OBJECTS IN NATURE.

¶ 39

The philosophy of materialism gave up the human understanding to the empire of external objects, and morals to personal interest; and reduced the beautiful to the agreeable. Kant wished to re-establish primitive truths and spontaneous activity in the soul, conscience in morals, and the ideal in the arts. [III, 73].

¶ 40

Let a great number of men be assembled at a theatre or public place, and let some theorem of reasoning, however general, be proposed to them;—as many different opinions will immediately be formed as there are individuals assembled. But, if any actions, displaying greatness of soul, are related, or the accents of generosity heard, the general burst will at once proclaim, that you have touched that instinct of the soul which is as lively and as powerful in our beings, as the instinct which preserves our existence.

¶ 41

In referring to sentiment, which does not admit of doubts, the knowledge of transcendent truths, in endeavouring to prove that reasoning avails only when exerted within the sphere of sensations, Kant is very far from considering this faculty of sentiment as an illusion; on the contrary, he assigns to it the first rank in human nature; he makes conscience the innate principle of our moral existence; and the feeling of right and wrong is, according to his ideas, the primitive law of the heart, as space and time are of the understanding. [III, 85-86].

¶ 42

Kant maintains, that there are in poetry, and in the arts which are capable, as poetry is, of painting sentiments by images, two kinds of beauty: one which may be referred to time and to this life; the other, to eternity and infinity.

¶ 43

And so impossible is it to say, that what is infinite and eternal is intelligible to our minds, that one is often tempted to take even what is finite and transient for a dream; for thought can see no limits to any thing, neither can being have a conception of non-existence. We cannot search deeply into the exact sciences themselves, without meeting, even there, with what is infinite and eternal; and those things which are the most completely matters of fact, do, under some relations, belong to this infinity and eternity, as much as sentiment and imagination.

¶ 44

From this application of the feeling of infinity, to the fine arts, arises the system of ideal beauty, that is to say, of beauty considered, not as the assemblage and imitation of whatever is most worthy in nature, but as the realization of that image which is constantly present to the soul. [III, 89].

¶ 45

[Beauty] is an innate disposition, like the feeling of duty, and those ideas which are essential to the understanding; and we discover beauty when we see it, because it is the outward image of that ideal beauty, the type of which exists in our mind. Difference of tastes may be applied to what is agreeable, for our sensations are the source of that kind of pleasure; but all men must admire what is beautiful, whether in art or in nature, because they have in their souls sentiments of celestial origin, which beauty awakens, and of which it excites the enjoyment.

¶ 46

Kant passes from the theory of the beautiful to that of the sublime; and this second part...is even more remarkable than the first: he makes the sublime, in moral liberty, consist in the struggles of man with his destiny, or with his nature. Unlimited power excites our fear, greatness overwhelms us; yet, by the vigour of the will, we escape from the sensation of our physical weakness. The power of destiny, and the immensity of nature, are placed in endless opposition to the miserable dependence of the creature upon earth; but one spark of the sacred fire in our bosoms triumphs over the universe; since with that one spark we are enabled to resist the impressions which all the powers in the world could make upon us.

¶ 47

The first effect of the sublime is to overwhelm a man, and the second to exalt him. When we contemplate a storm curling the billows of the sea, and seeming to threaten both earth and heaven, terror at first takes possession of us,

lthough we may be out of the reach of any personal danger; but when the clouds hat have gathered, burst over our heads, when all the fury of nature is dis-layed, man feels an inward energy, which frees him from every fear, by his will, r by resignation, by the exercise, or by the relinquishment of his moral liber-y; and this consciousness of what is within him animates and encourages him. III, 90-92].

¶ 48

Besides, no one can define, if I may so say, that which is at the summit of ur existence; "We are too much elevated in respect to ourselves, to comprehend urselves," says St. Augustin. He must be very poor in imagination who should hink himself able to exhaust the contemplation even of the simplest flower; how hen could we arrive at the knowledge of all that is comprised in the idea of he sublime?

¶ 49

I do not certainly flatter myself that I have been able, in a few pages, to ive an account of a system which, for twenty years, has occupied all thinking eads in Germany; but I hope to have said enough to show the general spirit of he philosophy of Kant, and to enable me to explain, in the following chapters, he influence which it has had upon literature, science, and morality. [III, 2-93].

ANT'S RECOGNITION OF TWO LEVELS OF SPECULATION——THE "EXPERIMENTAL" FOR THE ENSES: THE "INTUITIONAL" FOR OTHER AREAS OF MAN'S LIFE——KANT'S SPECULATION ROCLAIMS A SOUL——IT POINTS TO THE SPIRITUAL GRANDEUR OF THAT "EXILE FROM EAVEN," MAN.

¶ 50

In order to reconcile experimental and ideal philosophy, Kant has not made he one subordinate to the other, but he has given to each of the two, separate-y, a new degree of force. Germany was threatened by that cold doctrine which egarded all enthusiasm as an error, and classed amongst prejudices those senti-ments which form the consolation of our existence. It was a great satisfaction for men, at once so philosophical and so poetical, so capable of study and of exaltation, to see all the fine affections of the soul defended with the strict-ness of the most abstract reasonings. The force of the mind can never be long in a negative state; that is, it cannot long consist principally, in not be-lieving, in not understanding, and in what it disdains. We must have a philoso-phy of belief, of enthusiasm, a philosophy which confirms by reason, what senti-ment reveals to us. [III, 93-94].

¶ 51

The philosophy of Plato is more poetical than that of Kant, the philosophy of Mallebranche more religious; but the great merit of the German philosopher has been to raise up moral dignity, by setting all that is fine in the heart, on the basis of a theory deduced from the strongest reasoning.... Kant, who seemed to be called to conclude all the grand intellectual alliances, has made the soul one focus, in which all our faculties are in contact with each other. [III, 94-95].

¶ 52

[T]he philosophy of the new German school contains a crowd of ideas which are peculiar to it; it is founded upon the greatest extent of scientific knowledge, which has been increasing every day, and upon a singularly abstract and logical mode of reasoning; for, although Kant blames the use of such reasoning, in the examination of truths which are out of the circle of experience, he shows in his writings a power of mind, on metaphysical subjects, which places him, in that respect, in the first rank of thinkers. [III, 95-96].

¶ 53

How [Kant] ennobles actions by their source, and not by their success! In a word, what grandeur of morality does he not give to man, whether he examines him in himself, or whether he considers him in his relations towards others;—to man, that exile of heaven, that prisoner upon earth, so great as an exile, so miser-able as a captive! ... Smartness of wit against what is serious, noble, and di-

ine, is worn out; and in future it will be impossible to restore to the human ace any of the qualities of youth, but by returning to religion by the road of hilosophy, and to sentiment by the way of reason. [III, 98].

HE KANTIAN SYSTEM WARNS AGAINST PLEASURE IN FAVOR OF DUTY---CONSCIENCE IS IN-ERENT IN OUR NATURE---THE SOUL IS NOT TO BE UNDERSTOOD THROUGH LOCKE'S OPINION.

¶ 54

The ideal philosophy has a tendency, from its very nature, to refute the mor-l system, founded upon individual or national interest: it does not allow tem-oral happiness to be the end of our existence; and, referring every thing to he life of the soul, it is to the exercise of the will, and of virtue, that it ttaches our thoughts and actions. The works which Kant has written upon morals, ave a reputation at least equal to those which he has composed upon metaphysics. III, 202].

¶ 55

Two distinct inclinations, he says, appear manifest in man: personal inter-st, which he derives from the attraction of his sensations; and universal jus-ice, which arises from his relations to the human race, and to the Divinity: etween these two impulses conscience decides; she resembles Minerva, who made he balance incline, when the votes were equal in the Areopagus. Have not the ost opposite opinions facts for their support? Would not "the for" and "the gainst" be equally true, if conscience did not carry with her the supreme cer-ainty? [III, 202-203].

¶ 56

Man, who is placed between visible and almost equal arguments, which direct he circumstances of his life in favour of good or evil; man has received from eaven the sentiment of duty, to decide his choice. Kant endeavours to demon-trate that this sentiment is the necessary condition of our moral being; the ruth which precedes all those, the knowledge of which is acquired by life. Can t be denied that conscience has more dignity, when we believe it to be an in-ate power, than when we consider it in the light of a faculty acquired, like all thers, by experience and habit? And it is in this point, especially, that the deal metaphysics exert a great influence over the moral conduct of man: they attribute the same primitive force to the notion of duty as to that of space and ime; and, considering them both as inherent in our nature, they admit no more doubt of one than of the other. [III, 203].

¶ 57

All our esteem for ourselves and for others ought to be founded on the rela-tions which exist between our actions and the law of duty; this law depends, in no case, on the desire of happiness; on the contrary, it is often summoned to combat that desire. Kant goes still farther; he affirms, that the first effect of the power of virtue is to cause a noble pain, by the sacrifices which it de-mands. [III, 203-204].

¶ 58

Among the German philosophers, some men of virtue, not inferior to Kant, and who approach nearer to religion in their inclinations, have attributed the ori-gin of the moral law to religious sentiment. This sentiment cannot be of the nature of those which may grow into passions. Seneca has depicted its calmness and profundity, by saying, 'In the bosom of the virtuous man I know now what God, but a God has habitation.' [III, 208].

¶ 59

Another philosopher asserts, that immortality already commences upon this earth, for him who desires and feels in himself the taste for eternal things: another affirms, that nature forces man to understand the will of God; and that there is in the universe a groaning and imprisoned voice, which invites us to deliver the world and ourselves, by combating the principle of evil, under all its fatal appearances. [III, 210].

¶ 60

The proofs of the spirituality of the soul cannot be discovered in the empire f the senses. The visible world is abandoned to their dominion; but the invisible, will not be subjected to it; and if we do not admit that there are ideas of pontaneous growth, if thought and sentiment depend entirely upon sensations, how hould the soul, that submits to such a state of servitude, be an immaterial essence? And if, as nobody denies, the greater part of the knowledge transmitted y the senses is liable to error, what sort of a moral being must that be, who oes not act until aroused by outward objects, and by objects even whose appearnces are often deceitful?

¶ 61

The impulse that exalts us towards the Supreme Being discovers itself in the enius of Newton, as it does in the soul of the poor savage, who worships the tone upon which he finds rest. No man clings exclusively to this world, such s it is at present; and all have felt in their hearts, at some period of their ives, an undefinable inclination towards the supernatural: but, how can it happen, that a being, so religious as Locke, should try to change the primitive haracters of belief into an accidental knowledge, which chance may confer or ake away? [III, 25-26].

¶ 62

All that is visible talks to man of a beginning and an end, of decline and estruction. A divine spark is the only indication of our immortality. From what sensation does this arise? All our sensations fight against it, and yet it triumphs over them all. What! it will be said, do not final causes, do not the wonders of the universe, the splendour of heaven that strikes our eyes, all declare the magnificence and the goodness of our Creator? The book of nature is contradictory; we see there the emblems of good and evil almost in equal proportion; and things are thus constituted, in order that man may be able to exercise his liberty between opposite probabilities, between fears and hopes almost of equal power. The starry heaven appears to us like the threshold of the Divinity; but all the evils and all the vices of human nature obscure these celestial fires. A solitary voice, without speech, but not without harmony; without force, but irresistible; proclaims a God at the bottom of the human heart: all that is truly beautiful in man springs from what he experiences within himself, and spontaneously; every heroic action is inspired by moral liberty:—the act of devoting ourselves to the divine will, that act which every sensation opposes, and which enthusiasm alone inspires, is so noble and so pure, that the angels themselves, virtuous as they are by nature, and without impediment, might envy it to man.

¶ 63

That species of metaphysics which displaces the centre of life, by supposing its impulse to come from without, despoils man of his liberty, and destroys itself; for a spiritual nature no longer exists, when we unite it in such a manner to a corporeal nature, that it is only by consideration for religious opinion we consent to distinguish them.... [III, 28-30].

FICHTE AND SCHELLING FOLLOW KANT AND EXTEND HIS IDEALISM BY SOMEWHAT OVERSIMPLIFYING HIM——THEY REPUDIATE HIS TWO PRINCIPLES OR LEVELS——FICHTE SEEKS UNITY BY MAKING MIND OR SELF OR SOUL THE ONLY EXISTENT IN THE UNIVERSE——SCHELLING MAKES A SPIRITUALIZED NATURE THE ONLY EXISTENT——EACH MAN'S INDIVIDUALITY IS EVENTUALLY LOST IN THE ULTIMATE BEING OR IN THE TRANSCENDENT.

¶ 64

The two most celebrated philosophers who have succeeded Kant, are Fichte and Schelling. They too pretended to simplify his system; but it was by putting in its place a species of philosophy more elevated even than his, that they hoped to accomplish it.

¶ 65

Kant had, with a firm hand, separated the two empires of the soul and of the senses. This philosophical duality was fatiguing to minds which love to repose

in simple ideas. From the days of the Greeks to our own, this axiom has often been repeated, that every thing is one, and the efforts of philosophers have always been directed to find in one single principle, either in the soul or in nature, an explanation of the world. I shall, nevertheless, venture to say, that it appears to me to be one of the titles which Kant's philosophy has to the confidence of enlightened men, that it affirms, what we feel to be the case, that there exists both a soul and an external nature, and that they act mutually one upon the other by such or such laws....

¶ 66

Fichte and Schelling have divided between them the empire which Kant acknowledged to be a divided one, and each has chosen that his own half should be the whole. Both have gone out of the sphere of ourselves, and have been desirous of rising to a knowledge of the system of the universe. [III, 108-109].

¶ 67

[Fichte] makes the whole universe consist of the activity of mind. All conception, all imagination, proceeds from that; it is on account of this system that he has been suspected of unbelief. He was heard to say, that, in his next lesson, he should create GOD, and the world was scandalized with reason at such an expression. —What he meant by it was, that he should show how the idea of the Divinity arose, and was developed in the mind of man. The principal merit of Fichte's philosophy is, the incredible attention that it implies; for he is not contented with referring every thing to the inward existence of man, to the SELF which forms the basis of every thing, but he goes on to distinguish in this SELF what is transient and what is permanent. In fact, when we reflect on the operations of the understanding, we think ourselves eye-witnesses of our own thoughts; we think we see them pass before us like a stream, whilst the portion of self, which is contemplating them, is immoveable. It often happens to those who unite an impassioned character to an observing mind, to see themselves suffer, and to feel within themselves a being superior to its own pain, which observes it, and reproves or pities it by turns.

¶ 68

We are subject to continual changes from the external circumstances of our life, and yet we always have the feeling of our identity. What is it, then, that attests this identity, if not that self, always the same, which sees another self modified by impressions from without, pass before its tribunal? [III, 110-111].

¶ 69

Fichte considers the exterior world only as a boundary of our existence, on which thought is at work. In his system, this boundary is created by the soul itself, the activity of which is constantly exerted on the web it has formed. What Fichte has written upon the metaphysical self, is a little like the waking of Pygmalion's statue, which, touching alternately itself and the stone on which it was placed, says, by turns, This is I, and This is not I; but when, taking the hand of Pygmalion, it exclaims, This indeed is I—that excites a sentiment which is much beyond the sphere of abstract ideas. Idealism, stripped of sentiment, has nevertheless the advantage of exciting, to the highest degree, the activity of the mind; but nature and love, by this system, lose all their charms; for, if the objects which we see, and the beings whom we love, are nothing but the works of our own ideas, it is man himself that may be considered as the great coelibatary of the world. [III, 112].

¶ 70

It may be truly said, that the study of the ideal system of metaphysics is almost a certain means of developing the moral faculties of those who devote themselves to it. Thought, like every thing precious, resides at the bottom of ourselves; for, on the surface, there is nothing but folly and insipidity. But when men are early obliged to dive into their own minds, and to see all that passes within them, they draw from thence a power, and plainness of judgment, which are never lost. [III, 113].

¶ 71

Materialism absorbs the soul by degrading it; the idealism of Fichte, by ex-

alting it, separates it from nature; in both extremes, sentiment, which is the real beauty of existence, has not the rank it deserves. [III, 114].

¶ 72

Schelling has much more knowledge of nature and the fine arts than Fichte, and his lively imagination could not be satisfied with abstract ideas; but, like Fichte, his object is to reduce existence to a single principle. He treats with profound contempt all philosophers who admit two principles; and will not allow the name of Philosophy to any system but that which unites every thing, and explains every thing. Unquestionably he is right in saying that system would be the best; but where is it? Schelling pretends, that nothing is more absurd than the expression, so commonly used—The philosophy of Plato—the philosophy of Aristotle. Should we say, The geometry of Euler—the geometry of La Grange? There is but one philosophy, according to Schelling, or there must be none at all.... [III, 114-115].

¶ 73

The system of Kant appeared insufficient to Schelling, as it did to Fichte; because he acknowledges two natures, two sources of our ideas—external objects, and the faculties of the soul. But, in order to arrive at that unity, so much desired; in order to get rid of that double life, physical and moral, which gives so much offence to the partisans of simple ideas, Schelling refers every thing to nature, while Fichte makes every thing spring from the soul. Fichte sees nothing in nature but the opposite of mind: in his eyes it is only a limit or a chain, from which we are constantly to endeavour to free ourselves. The system of Schelling gives more rest, and greater delight, to the imagination.... Schelling endeavours to raise matter up to mind; and although his theory entirely depends upon physical nature, it is, nevertheless, a very ideal one at the bottom, and still more so in its form. [III, 114-115].

¶ 74

To keep up the ideas of religion in the midst of the apotheosis of nature, the school of Schelling supposes that the individual within us perishes, but that the inward qualities which we possess, enter again into the great whole of the eternal creation. [III, 118].

NOTES ON THE EARLY LECTURES

I am grateful to the Harvard University Press for permission to quote sentences and fragments as catchwords in the following annotations upon The Early Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, recently edited by Stephen E. Whicher and Robert E. Spiller. I also wish to thank Edward W. Forbes, Esq., President of the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association, for graciously allowing me to quote from unpublished materials in the family papers.

6.6 the division of labor removes men into cities] For Emerson's classic statement on this occupational phenomenon, see "The American Scholar," Works, I, 82-84ff. See note on 138.9 of the Early Lectures. Dugald Stewart deals extensively with the subject and with Adam Smith's views in his "Lectures on Political Economy." See any edition of his Works. See also Augustus William Hare and Julius Charles Hare, Guesses at Truth by Two Brothers, (2 vols.) London, 1827, II, 19: "The division of labour is the application of Divide et Impera to matter; and in this sense alone ought that maxim ever to have been uttered. In its common acceptation it is grossly and mischievously false. The first principle of politic wisdom is the exact reverse: unite and rule: let that which was scattered be gathered together, and let order be the cement of union.... You

cut up your ox into joints, in order that you may the more easily dress them: you cut up your sirloin into morsels, in order that you may swallow and digest them: in both instances the latter is the important process, and without it the former is of no use. Yet politicians have seldom learnt this: they usually stop short in the slaughter-house...marvelling all the while why their strength does not increase prodigiously."

6.29 power, the influence of natural objects gives to the sentiment of love of country] Emerson was acquainted with a long discussion of patriotism in chapter 3, section 4, of Dugald Stewart's The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man. Emerson owned the Works, (7 vols.) Cambridge, 1829.

7.14 we have all a presentiment of relations to external nature, which outruns the limits of actual science.] See De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 14-16; 18-21 et passim. Cf. 9.32, 10.12, and 82.1.

9.32 strange thoughts are stirred as you see more surprizing objects than were known to exist] Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 14-16; 18-21 et passim. Cf. 7.14, 10.12, and 82.1.

10.10 not a form so grotesque...expression of something in man the observer] See 80.12. Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 14-16; 18-21 et passim.

10.12 an occult relation between the very worm, the crawling scorpions, and man. I am moved by strange sympathies.] See note on 7.14. Cf. 9.32 and 82.1.

11.1 The ancient Greeks had a fable of the giant Antaeus] For Classical sources, see John Lempriere, A Classical Dictionary, s.v. Goethe was fond of the story. See his Italiänische Reise in Werke, (55 vols.) Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1828-1833, XXVII, 173 [Bologna, Oct. 20, 1786]: "Diesen heitern schönen Tag habe ich ganz unter freiem Himmel zugebracht. Kaum nahe ich mich den Bergen, so werde ich schon wieder vom Gestein angezogen. Ich komme mir vor, wie Antäus, der sich immer neu gestärkt fühlt, je kräftiger man ihn mit seiner Mutter Erde in Berührung bringt."

11.13 the celebrated Wilson was led to the study of Ornithology for the benefit of his enfeebled health] Emerson needed no particular source. Sketches of Wilson's life were easily available: See George Ord's memoir of Wilson in his edition of American Ornithology, (9 vols.) Phila., 1808-1814; W. M. H's memoir in American Ornithology, ed. Robert Jameson, (4 vols.) Edinburgh, 1831 (Constable's Miscellany, vols. 68-71); William Jardine's "Life of Alexander Wilson" in American Ornithology, (3 vols.) London, 1832, I, pp. ix-cv.

12.4 the subdivision of labor] See note on 6.6.

12.8 perfume out of a cat] See note on 327.18. See Bacon quoted in 327.8.

12.12 well ventilated chimney...hint from Franklin and Rumford] Count Rumford, so called from the title given him by the elector of Bavaria, was born Benjamin Thompson in the United States. For his work on chimneys, see Sir Benjamin Thompson Rumford, Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical, (2 vols., 1st Am. from the 3rd London edn.) Boston, March, 1798-Aug., 1899, I, pp. 305-374. Franklin's essays (frequently reprinted in his Works) bear the following titles: "New-invented Pennsylvania Fire-places" and "On the Causes and Cure of Smoky Chimneys."

12.26 from the Chaldean shepherd to Laplace and Bowditch] See Dugald Stewart, Philosophical Essays, Edinburgh, 1810, p. xxxix: "It is sufficient for me to repeat an old, but very striking reflection, that the only accurate knowledge which Man possesses of the surface of the Earth, has been derived from the previous knowledge he had acquired of the phenomena of the Stars. Is it possible to produce a more apposite, or a more undeniable proof of the universality of Ba-

con's maxim, that 'knowledge is power,' than a fact which demonstrates the essential aid which man has derived, in asserting his dominion over this lower world, from a branch of science which seems, at first view, fitted only to gratify a speculative curiosity; and which, in its infancy, served to amuse the leisure of the Chaldean shepherd?" See Sir John F. W. Herschel, Astronomy, (new ed.) London (Cabinet Cyclopaedia), 1834, pp. 381-382: "The same discovery appears to have been made...by Palitzch, a farmer of Prolitz, near Dresden...the first to rediscover the predicted comet of Halley in 1759, which he saw nearly a month before any of the astronomers, who, armed with their telescopes, were anxiously watching its return. These anecdotes carry us back to the era of the Chaldean shepherds." This is quoted on pages 9-10 of "The Bridgewater Treatises —The Universe and its Author," Quarterly Review, L, no. 99 (Oct., 1833), pp. 1-34. See also p. 16: "These mutual gravitations of the planets towards each other in their career round the sun are the causes of certain perturbations in the system, which, though very minute in each particular case, become considerable in the lapse of ages. It is, for example, one of their consequences, that the moon performs her monthly revolution round the earth in a shorter interval now than she did formerly, as appears from the record of an eclipse observed by the Chaldeans at Babylon seven hundred and twenty-one years before the Christian aera." The Chaldeans and Laplace are discussed throughout Mrs. Mary (Fairfax) Somerville's The Connection of the Physical Sciences, Phila., 1834. See her index.

12.28 a single man devoted to science may carry forward] See 13.12, 143.1, and 335.32.

13.18 All that has been is only an accumulated force...upon the future] Emerson here reflects Bacon's maxim that "Knowledge is power" and respect for inductive science—for the "accumulation of experiments." His attitude is that of his early teacher, Dugald Stewart, as expressed especially in his Dissertation First: Exhibiting a General View of the Progress of...Philosophy Since the Revival of Letters in Europe, (2 parts) [Edinburgh, 1816-1821]. Emerson may here remember the quotation from Condorcet in Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, (2 vols.) London, 1814, I, 222-223: "To such of my readers as may be slow in admitting the possibility of this progressive improvement in the human race, allow me to state, as an example, the history of that science in which the advances of discovery are the most certain, and in which they may be measured with the greatest precision. Those elementary truths of geometry and of astronomy, which, in India and Egypt, formed an occult science, upon which an ambitious priesthood founded its influence, were become, in the times of Archimedes and Hipparchus, the subjects of common education in the public schools of Greece. In the last century, a few years of study were sufficient for comprehending all that Archimedes and Hipparchus knew; and, at present, two years employed under an able teacher, carry the student beyond those conclusions, which limited the inquiries of Leibnitz and of Newton. Let any person reflect on these facts: let him follow the immense chain which connects the inquiries of Euler with those of a Priest of Memphis; let him observe, at each epoch, how genius outstrips the present age, and how it is overtaken by mediocrity in the next; he will perceive, that nature has furnished us with the means of abridging and facilitating our intellectual labour, and that there is no reason for apprehending that such simplifications can ever have an end." See also Samuel Bailey, Essays on the Pursuit of Truth, on the Progress of Knowledge, and on the Fundamental Principle of all Evidence and Expectation, London, 1829, pp. 116-117: "In a word, there has been an advance in the discrimination of good and evil. You will not contend that men are incapable of progressive improvement, chained forever like the brutes to the circle of individual attainment, doomed generation after generation to commence at one point and to tread the same round. No! human improvement, thank God, admits of successive advances; each generation starts from the ground at which the last had expended its strength in arriving; and I will venture to say, that this single circumstance is sufficient to carry the race to a degree of knowledge which it is impossible for us to conceive. Oh! that I could live to see the results of another century of progression." See pp. 46-47: "As there are some preju-

dices which are hostile to inquiry, so there are some principles of an opposite character, the full and adequate conviction of which essentially conduces to promote it. Amongst these is the truth that knowledge is progressive, and that in this progress every age is placed in a more advantageous position for the comprehension of any subject of science than the last. Every inquirer, therefore, finds himself on higher ground than his predecessors; he can avail himself of their latest acquisitions without the labour of original discovery, and thus with unbroken spirits, and unsubdued vigour, he can commence his career at the ultimate boundary of theirs.... All the advantage, nevertheless, which he has over his precursors, his successors will have over him. All his exertions will tend to place them above him; and the very truths which he discovers, should he be fortunate enough to discover any, will give them the power of detecting the errors, with which all truths on their first manifestation in any mind are inevitably conjoined." See also p. 49: "Knowing that were he even the Newton of his age, he must be eventually outstripped, he considers such an incident as no wise derogatory to his talents or reputation: agitated by none of the jealousy which is too common a disgrace to men who ought to rise superior to the weakness of such a passion, he even feels a desire that he may be outstripped in his own life-time, a curiosity to know by what modifications his own doctrines will be corrected: he is on the watch for new discoveries, because he knows that there are minds which having mastered preceding knowledge are in a condition to make them."

13.22 a general truth is more valuable than all the particular facts...it has disclosed.] For a discussion of this subject, see section XII of the chapter, "Coleridge as Key to Nature," E T E, I, 212-214.

13.26 our countryman, Mr. Jacob Perkins, noticed the small bubbles] Perkins (1766-1849), an American inventor, improved high-pressure steam boilers and engines between 1823 and 1836. For Emerson's conversation with him in England, see Journals, III, 190-191. See also the D A B, XIV, 472-473.

14.32 Bias...asked what good, education would do for a boy...theatre...that he might not be a stone sitting upon a stone.] Not located.

16.9 Coal...attracted...British naturalists] See 33.14ff.

17.1 it will make the stones speak] See Luke 19:40——"I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out."

17.3 different aspect the same object presents to the ignorant and the instructed eye] See note on 78.34.

17.8 every form is a history of the thing] See 18.8ff. and 29.12ff. Emerson created the proverb, "Nature tells everything once," from Johann Falk's reminiscences of Goethe in Sarah Austin, Characteristics of Goethe, (3 vols.) London, 1833, I, 64: "He [Goethe] laid down the proposition, that Nature, accidentally, and as it were against her will, became the tell-tale of her own secrets. That every thing was told—at least once; only not in the time and place at which we looked for, or suspected it; we must collect it here and there, in all the nooks and corners in which she had let it drop. Hence the Mysterious, the Sybiline, the Incoherent, in our observations of nature. That she was a book of the vastest, strangest contents, from which, however, we might gather, that many of its leaves lay scattered around in Jupiter, Uranus, and other planets. To come at the whole, would be difficult, if not utterly impossible. On this difficulty, therefore, must all systems suffer shipwreck." Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶ 10. See the note on 26.10.

17.15 every thing is a monster till we know what it is for] Cf. 166.16ff.

17.30 Nothing is indifferent to the wise...the economy of a spire of grass] See note on 327.33. Cf. motifs in Whitman's Leaves of Grass. See Sarah Austin, Characteristics of Goethe, III, 323: "He [Goethe] knew no such thing as a tri-

fle: for his manner of treating it, and the thought he put into it, converted it into a thing of importance." See also I, 62-63: "With his collection of natural curiosities he went to work in the same manner. How to catch nature, so to speak, in the fact;—this was the point to which all his observations, all his speculations, were directed. The smallest object acquired importance and interest in his eyes, viewed from this side. Especially organic remains of a world which has partly perished."

18.1 A dull dumb unprofitable world is this to many a man] See note on 78.34.

18.5 the sea and the land will break forth into singing...will clap their hands] See Isaiah 55:12——"For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands."

18.8 Let Cuvier regard...reading as in a book the history of the globe] See 17.8. Emerson had in his personal library: Georges Cuvier, Discourse on the Revolutions of the Surface of the Globe, and the Changes thereby produced in the Animal Kingdom, Phila., 1831; he borrowed from the Boston Library Society: Essay on the Theory of the Earth, tr. Robert Kerr; notes by Robert Jameson, (2nd ed., enlarged) Edinburgh, 1815.

18.13 events...no chronicle but in the memory of God] Cf. 26.10.

19.2 discriminate between the similar and the same] See note on 75.20.

19.7 All our ideas of sublimity and beauty...from that source.] At this point Emerson might have remembered a passage in one of his Harvard textbooks: Hugh Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, (3rd Am. ed., 2 vols.) Boston, 1802, I, 53: "What are the proper sources of the Sublime? My answer is, That they are to be looked for every where in nature. It is not by hunting after tropes, and figures, and rhetorical assistances, that we can expect to produce it. No: it stands clear, for the most part, of these laboured refinements of art. It must come unsought, if it come at all; and be the natural offspring of a strong imagination. Est Deus in nobis; agitante calescimus illo. [Ovid's Fasti, Bk. VI, lines 5-6]" Cf. De Staël's Germany, ed. cit., III, 373: "'Man,' says Novalis, 'is united to Nature by relations almost as various, almost as inconceivable, as those which he maintains with his kind: as she brings herself down to the comprehension of children, and takes delight in their simple hearts, so does she appear sublime to exalted minds, and divine to divine beings....'"

19.18 threads of attraction] For gravity, see note on 72.9.

20.1 solid land from the bottom of the sea...the coraline, the madrepore... builds up the coral reefs] Cf. also 56.12 and "The Cocoa-nut Tree, including the Formation of Coral Reefs" in John Kidd, On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man, London, 1833, pp. 204-216, which include rich bibliographical references.

20.10 discovery of Reaumur relative to the angles of the cells] Emerson came upon René A. F. de Réaumur in a variety of places, especially in periodicals. So also François Huber, mentioned in the following note. See such works as The Natural History of Insects, (2 vols.) London (Family Library), 1829, I, 28-35.

20.11 the observations of Huber] Emerson withdrew from the Boston Athenaeum in 1832: François Huber, New Observations on the Natural History of Bees, (3rd ed.) Edinburgh, 1821.

20.23 must go in the spirit of a little child] See Matt. 18:3——"Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall

not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Mark 10:15——"Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein." Cf. Luke 18:17.

20.23 The naturalist commands nature by obeying her.] On Bacon's famous maxim, "Naturae enim non imperatur nisi parendo," see below 331.1 and footnote. See also Journals, II, 393; E T E, I, 333; and Dugald Stewart, Philosophical Essays, Edinburgh, 1810, pp. li and lxiv: "Even the very curious facts...with respect to the education of the war-horse and of the elephant, only afford additional proofs of the universality of the proposition, 'that knowledge is power.' They demonstrate, that the empire of man over the brute force of the lower animals is proportioned, not to his physical strength, but to the knowledge he possesses of their respective constitutions. They form indeed a most beautiful and instructive comment on Bacon's maxim, that 'nature is to be subdued only by obeying her laws;' and might almost be quoted as apologues for the moral lesson they may convey to the guardians of youth, and to the rulers of nations." See Sir James Mackintosh, "Stewart's Introduction to the Encyclopaedia," Edinburgh Review, XXVII, no. 53 (Sept., 1816), pp. 180-244, esp. 188: "[Bacon] must always have viewed with complacency those inventions which demonstrate to the most ignorant that 'Knowledge is Power.' In the pursuit of knowledge, however, he proposed to himself a practical end, and an end...of unquestionable utility. He sought, as he tells us, the means, not of the 'amplification of the power of one man over his country, nor of the amplification of the power of that country over other nations; but the amplification of the power and kingdom of mankind over the world.' 'A restitution of man to the sovereignty of nature'—(Of the Interpretation of Nature). 'The enlarging the bounds of human empire to the effecting all things possible.'—(New Atlantis). From the enlargement of reason, he did not separate the growth of virtue, for he thought that 'truth and goodness were one, differing but as the seal and the print; for truth prints goodness.'—(Advancement of Learning, Book I.)" See also notes on 326.29 and 166.19.

20.25 this benign influence passes from the intellect into the affections] The best commentary on this line is chapter V ("Discipline") in Emerson's Nature. Cf. Wordsworth's "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey," lines 22-49.

21.3 the peculiarities of original genius stand out more strongly] See Sampson Reed's "Oration on Genius" in E T E, II, 9-12.

21.14 free to surrender himself to the genius of the place] Perhaps an unconscious allusion to the Roman genius loci. See "Daemon" and "Genius" in John Lempriere, A Classical Dictionary. See also 134.21.

21.15 In the presence of nature he is a child.] Cf. 20.23 and Coleridge's view of genius, 192.1-3.

21.26 The story of Archimedes running as a madman...after discovering...the specific gravity of bodies..."I have found it"] See Jeremiah Joyce, Scientific Dialogues intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young People, (new ed., 6 vols.) London, 1818, III, 147-154 (Conversation XIV on "Hydrostatics").

22.1 As they say, the soldier who dies in hot blood never feels the wound] Emerson might have seen a parallel between that enthusiasm engendered by natural science and the rhapsody created by the poetic imagination. See Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Milton," Edinburgh Review, XLII, no. 84 (Aug., 1825), 304-346, esp. 309: "Men will judge and compare [in an enlightened age]; but they will not create. They will talk about the old poets, and comment on them, and to a certain degree enjoy them. But they will scarcely be able to conceive the effect which poetry produced on their ruder ancestors, the agony, the ecstacy, the lenitude of belief. The Greek Rhapsodists, according to Plato, could not recite Homer without almost falling into convulsions. The Mohawk hardly feels the scalping-knife while he shouts his death-song. The power which the ancient bards of Wales and Germany exercised over their auditors seems to modern readers almost miraculous. Such feelings are very rare in a civilized community, and

most rare among those who participate most in its improvements. They linger longest among the peasantry." [Italics mine.] See note on 145.15.

22.4 Haller...Swiss physiologist...in his last illness..."My friend, the artery ceases to beat."] See Andrew Crichton, "Baron Haller," Converts from Infidelity, (2 vols.) Edinburgh (Constable's Miscellany), 1827, II, 218-254, esp. 250: "His last words were addressed to Mr Rosselet, the physician that attended him: 'My friend,' said he calmly, with his hand on his pulse, 'the artery no longer beats,' and immediately expired, at the age of sixty-nine, on the 12th of December, 1777."

22.10 related of John Hunter... "I wish I...might tell you how pleasant are the sensations of dying."] This remark is attributed to William Hunter in Lives of British Physicians, London (John Murray), 1830, pp. 217-229, esp. 225: "Turning to his friend [Andrew?] Combe, in his latter moments, he observed, 'If I had strength enough to hold a pen, I would write how easy and pleasant a thing it is to die.' He expired on the 30th of March, 1783: his brother, John, occasionally introduced the catheter in this last paralytic seizure." The quotation is attributed to Dr. Cullen by Sir Humphry Davy in Salmonia, or Days of Fly Fishing, (2nd ed.) London, 1829, p. 115: "I know several instances in which the process of death has been observed, even to its termination, by good philosophers; and the instances are worth repeating: Dr. Cullen, when dying, is said to have faintly articulated to one of his intimates, 'I wish I had the power of writing or speaking, for then I would describe to you how pleasant a thing it is to die.'" (Emerson borrowed the latter work from the Boston Athenaeum in 1832.)

22.20 When Kepler had discovered the three harmonic laws....] See De Staël's Germany, ed. cit., III, 163-164: "When Keppler had discovered the harmonic laws that regulate the motion of the heavenly bodies, it was thus that he expressed his joy:—'At length, after the lapse of eighteen months, the first dawn of light has shone upon me; and on this remarkable day I have perceived the pure irradiation of sublime truth. Nothing now represses me; I dare yield myself up to my holy ardour; I dare insult mankind by acknowledging, that I have turned worldly science to advantage; that I have robbed the vessels of Egypt, to erect a temple to the living God. If I am pardoned, I shall rejoice; if blamed, I shall endure it. The die is cast; I have written this book:—whether it be read by posterity, or by my contemporaries, is of no consequence; it may well wait for a reader during one century, when God himself, during six thousand years, has waited for an observer like myself.' This bold ebullition of a proud enthusiasm exhibits the internal force of genius."

23.1 sleepless nights, laborious days] Perhaps an unconscious allusion to Milton's Lycidas, line 72: "...to scorn delights and live laborious days."

23.5 greater is my respect for the observer Man, than for any thing he observes] Cf. 71.7.

23.23 the greatest office of natural science...to explain man to himself] See 81.1. Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 11, 18-21.

23.34 the simple fact of his own existence is the most astonishing of all facts] Emerson here echoes Coleridge's The Friend. See E T E, I, 120: "Hast thou ever raised thy mind to the consideration of existence, in and by itself, as the mere act of existing? Hast thou ever said to thyself thoughtfully, It is! heedless in that moment, whether it were a man before thee, or a flower, or a grain of sand,—without reference, in short, to this or that particular mode or form of existence? If thou hast indeed attained to this, thou wilt have felt the presence of a mystery, which must have fixed thy spirit in awe and wonder."

24.5 that correspondence of the outward world to the inward world of thoughts] On Emerson's rich sources for the Doctrine or Law of Correspondences, see the index of E T E under "Correspondence" and "Correspondences." Influences upon him were De Staël, Coleridge, Swedenborg, and Swedenborg's American disciples, no-

ably Sampson Reed. See De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21.

24.20 their link, their cement, their keystone...in the Mind of Man] See ote on 24.5.

24.21 he...marries the visible to the Invisible by uniting thought to Ani- al Organization] On the marriage of nature (or matter) and mind, see E T E, , 184, 343, 351, and the index under "Matter." On man the microcosm and uniter f the two worlds, see De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 19-21. See note on 79.21.

24.23 The strongest distinction...is that between thought and matter...yet e...speak of it...in...language...borrowed from...the material world.] See e Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21.

25.4 one mighty alphabet] See 291.3.

25.6 axioms of geometry and of mechanics only translate the laws of ethics] ee De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18 and 21. See ibid., ed. cit., III, 150-151: "Al- ost all the axioms of physics correspond with the maxims of morals. This spe- ies of parallel progress, which may be perceived between the world and the mind, s the indication of a great mystery." See 290.5ff. and the quotation from Ba- on's De Augmentis Scientiarum in note on 327.33.

25.10 Reaction is equal to action] See the section on "Mechanics" in Emer- on's Harvard school book: William Enfield, Institutes of Natural Philosophy, heoretical and Practical, (3rd American ed.), Boston, 1820, p. 12: "To every ction of one body upon another, there is an equal and contrary re-action: Or, he mutual actions of bodies on each other are equal and in contrary directions, nd are always to be estimated in the same right line."

25.15 every common proverb...one of these facts in nature...a picture or arable of a more extensive truth] Cf. 290.14 and the illustrative proverbs.

25.17 "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush."] See also 290.16.

25.18 "A rolling stone gathers no moss."] See also 290.15.

25.18 "Tis hard to carry a full cup even."] See also 290.18.

25.24 facts...have the same harmony with the human mind...this perfect har- mony] Cf. 72.19. See De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21. See note on 25.30.

25.30 idea of Fontenelle, "We seem to recognize a truth the first time we ear it."] See De Staël's Germany, ed. cit., III, 284: "The understanding con- tains in itself the principle of every thing which it acquires by experience. Fontenelle has justly said, that 'we think we recognise a truth when first we hear it.' How then can we imagine, that sooner or later just ideas, and the in- ternal conviction which they cause, will not reappear? There is a pre-estab- lished harmony between truth and human reason, which always ends by bringing each nearer to the other."

26.3 Nature is a language and every fact...is a new word] See Emerson's chapter on "Language" in Nature (1836), 32-45, its principal sources being Col- eridge, Swedenborg, Sampson Reed, and Guillaume Oegger. See E T E, index. The principal work of Oegger to circulate in New England (see E T E, II, 83-99) was The True Messiah; or The Old and New Testaments, examined according to the Prin- ciples of the Language of Nature. See esp. E T E, I, chap. 10, ¶s. 1-4, 25-27, 34.

26.7 that I may read the great book...written in that tongue] See the Goethe quotation in the note on 17.8.

26.10 herein is writ by the Creator his own history] See note on 17.8.

26.15 all this outward universe shall one day disappear] In his earlier years, Emerson was fond of apocalyptic endings of the world, some of which he had heard in sermons. He was fond of the phrase, "Till Time shall be no more." See his Indian Superstition, pages 54 and 63.

27.2 On the Relation of Man to the Globe] Emerson seems to have allowed his interest in concrete details to modify his original plan (bottom of page 27), which was to have given space to the "high consequences" of man's occult relationship. Since he had used Madame De Staël's philosophic observations on "correspondences" as the high point in his preceding lecture, it may be assumed that she was to have been given prominence in this one. A trace of his first intention appears at 45.9.

28.29 Moses furnishes one fact] See note on 30.29.

28.31 the rocks of Goat Island] These rocks, through which the Niagara River was cutting, were receiving increasing attention from geologists of Emerrson's day. See, for example, Charles Lyell, Principles of Geology, (4th ed., 4 vols.) London, 1835, I, 271-274 and footnotes.

29.12 a great man recently dead...at the head of German literature] Goethe died at Weimar, March 22, 1832. The following quotation (on Nature as a book) is from Johann Falk's "Goethe Pourtrayed from Familiar Personal Intercourse"—quoted in the note on 17.8.

29.18 That she [Nature] was a book of the vastest, strangest contents] On the phrase "book of Nature" see E T E, index.

29.28 preparation for him; an effort, (as physiologists say,) to produce him] The Theory of Evolution which Emerson knew at this time was that of Lamarck and his popularizers, many of them sources for Emerson's scientific lectures in the present volume. See E T E, I, 341, fn. 31.

29.29 the meaner creatures, the primeval sauri, containing the elements of his structure] For Emerson's source, see note on 32.10.

29.32 He was not made sooner, because his house was not ready.] For Emerson's use of the word "house" as a synonym for "Garden of Eden," see Nature (1836), 94.7: "Adam called his house, heaven and earth." See also Early Lectures, 32.13ff. and 34.5. Cf. "The Bridgewater Treatises—The Universe and its Author," Quarterly Review, L, no. 99 (Oct., 1833), pp. 1-34, esp. p. 31: "Time elapsed in the preparation of the minerals, the precious metals, the coal, and other subterraneous treasures,—all of them useful, some absolutely necessary, to the purposes of Man. The earth appears, after its first dispositions were accomplished, to have been completely remoulded, before it was deemed fit to be his residence. The shallow seas, the slimy abodes of the ichthyosaurus, the rank grasses, the dense and unwholesome vapours, had disappeared. The mountains had raised their heads, and assisted to purify the atmosphere; the sea had been assigned its limits; the climates had been determined; and the woods and valleys, and green fields, with their garniture of bright streams, and birds, and flowers of a thousand hues, contributed all their charms to form that Paradise which received the first born of our kind."

30.29 In the first subsiding of the waters...from covering the whole surface] Like many of his contemporaries, Emerson, at times, seems to have accepted the fact of a universal deluge. Cf. 28.29.

31.24 fact noticed by Lord Bacon...daring...yet repeated by modern geologists] Professor Levi Frisbie had called this fact to Emerson's attention as early as August, 1820. See Journals and Notebooks, I, p. 24. The reference is to the Novum Organum, Lib. II, sec. xxvii: "Verum his missis, etiam in ipsa configuratione mundi in majoribus, non sunt negligendae instantiae conformes; veluti Africa, et regio Peruviana, cum continente se porrigente usque ad fretum Magellanicum. Utraque enim regio habet similes isthmos, et similia promontoria, quod non temere accidit."

32.6 made perfect in the image of the Maker by the gift of moral nature] See Genesis 1:26-27——"And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion.... So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." The rabbis interpret "image" to mean "spiritual likeness;" hence "moral nature."

32.10 the brother of his hand is even now cleaving the Arctic Sea...flipper of the saurus] Emerson is here summarizing Sir Charles Bell, The Hand: Its Mechanism and Vital Endowments, London (Bridgewater Treatise) 1833, 101-103, including illustrations. Cf. also 29.29ff.

32.13 Man is made...building...a house, laying out the grounds] See note on 29.32.

32.21 Sir Humphry Davy...experiments on many gases] Emerson borrowed from the Boston Athenaeum, in 1832, John Ayrton Paris, The Life of Sir Humphry Davy, Bart., London, 1831. See chapters 8, 9, 11, and 13; also the "General Review" on pages 519ff. Davy's principal work on gases was his Researches, Chemical and Philosophical, chiefly concerning Nitrous Oxide or Dephlogisticated Nitrous Air, and its Respiration, London, 1800. These researches had an important practical result. See Davy's On the Fire-Damp of Coal Mines, and on Methods of Lighting the Mines, so as to Prevent its Explosion, London, 1815; London, 1816. See also his On the Safety Lamp for Coal Miners; with Some Researches on Flame, London, 1818; London, 1825.

32.26 The common air] This paragraph may be indebted to another of the Bridgewater Treatises: William Prout, Chemistry, Meteorology and the Function of Digestion considered with Reference to Natural Theology, London, 1834, pp. 187-197.

33.35 vast beds of fuel...covered by the crust of the globe...within reach of his little hands] Cf. John Kidd, On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man, London, 1833, pp. 106-107: "Now, had the strata remained undisturbed, a very considerable proportion of the coal which is now quarried would most probably never have been obtained by human industry.... But, in consequence of the rupture and consequent dislocation of the strata, many of those portions which were originally deposited at such a depth beneath the surface as would have rendered the working of them impossible, have been thrown up to the very surface; and thus have become available to the miner."

34.5 when the house was built and the...house was ventilated] See note on 29.32.

35.5 the behemoth of the waters] See Job 40:15——"Behold now behemoth, which I made with thee; he eateth grass as an ox." An interesting picture of the behemoth of the land (hippopotamus) appears in verses 16-24. Cf. Job 41:1—— "Canst thou draw out leviathan with a hook?" Cf. 137.22.

36.33 an excellent seaman...who made the shortest voyage...from Liverpool to Boston in fourteen days] I am grateful to Dorothy M. Potter, Assistant Reference Librarian of the Essex Institute, and to M. V. Brewington, Assistant Director of the Peabody Museum, in Salem, for helping me locate a newspaper account of the voyage made in the packet ship Emerald, Philip Fox master, in fifteen days and fourteen hours during parts of February and March, 1824. See the Columbian Centinel, Boston, March 10, 1824, No. 4165, page 2 for the reference and for the sort of news it brought to the Boston reading public.

BOSTON.
WEDNESDAY MORNING, MARCH 10, 1824.

VERY LATE FROM ENGLAND.

*** By the packet ship *Emerald*, Capt. Fox, from Liverpool, in the remarkably short passage of 15 days and 14 hours, we have London papers to the 18th ult.

☞ The British Parliament met the 3d Feb. and the King's Speech was delivered by commission, he being confined with gout at *Brighton*. It will be seen to be decidedly pacific, and appeared to be highly satisfactory to the nation.—We need not analyze it. It contains no allusion to the U. States distinct from other friendly nations. From the debates on it, in the Commons, we have extracted some points from the speeches of Mr. CANNING, which are important. He holds out an intimation of the willingness of FERDINAND 7th, to acknowledge the Independence of the Spanish American States. Mr. C's good feelings towards the U. States continued paramount. The Ministerial majority in the British Parliament was overwhelming.

☞ The Paris *Moniteur* had officially announced that the King of Spain had issued a decree, granting a FREE TRADE with Spanish America, to all nations. France claims the credit of having solicited this wise measure which was negotiated by Viscount MARCELLUS.

☞ The affairs of the Greeks were still reported as being successful, and that the Turks had evacuated Patras.

☞ In Spain a General Amnesty Law was spoken of, as nearly ready for publication.

Austria has paid Great Britain £2,500,000, in full of all former loans to her.

European Stocks.—French Five Per Cents, Feb. 16, 90*f.* 60*c.* to 99*f.* 90. Spanish, 27*f.* English Three Per Cents, Feb. 18, 91 to 92, Spanish Five Per Cents, 18 to 24.

LATEST FROM EUROPE.

[*By the Emerald we received our files of London papers to the 18th ult. excepting a few of the first dates of the month which were loaned to us by a mercantile friend.*]

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS, FEB. 3. Parliament was opened this day. The Lord Chancellor and four others appeared as commissioners. The Commons having assembled, the Lord Chancellor proceeded to read his Majesty's SPEECH, as follows:—

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"We are commanded by his Majesty to express to you his Majesty's deep regret, that in consequence of indisposition he is prevented from meeting you in Parliament upon the present occasion.

"It would have been a peculiar satisfaction to his Majesty to be enabled in person to congratulate you on the prosperous condition of the country.

"Trade and Commerce are extending themselves both at home and abroad.

"An increasing activity pervades almost every branch of manufacture.

"The growth of the Revenue is such as not only to sustain public credit, and to prove the unimpaired productiveness of our resources, but (what is yet more gratifying to his Majesty's feelings) to evince a diffusion of comfort among the great body of his people.

"Agriculture is recovering from the depression under which it labored; and, by the steady operation of natural causes, is gradually re-assuming the station to which its importance entitles it among the great interests of the nation.

"At no former period has there prevailed throughout all classes of the community in this island a more cheerful spirit of order, or a more just sense of the advantages which, under the blessing of Providence, they enjoy.

"In Ireland, which has for some time past been the subject of his Majesty's particular solicitude, there are many indications of amendment; and his Majesty relies upon your continued endeavors to secure the welfare and happiness of that part of the United Kingdom.

"His Majesty has commanded us further to inform you, that he has every reason to believe that the progress of our internal prosperity and improvement will not be disturbed by any interruption of tranquillity abroad.

"His Majesty continues to receive from the Powers, his Allies, and generally from all Princes and States, assurances of their earnest desire to maintain and cultivate the relations of friendship with his Majesty; and nothing is omitted on his Majesty's part, as well to preserve general peace, as to remove any causes of disagreement, and to draw closer the bonds of amity between other nations and Great Britain.

"The negociations which have been so long carried on through his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, for the arrangement of differences between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, are, as his Majesty flatters himself, drawing near to a favorable termination.

"A convention has been concluded between his Majesty and the Emperor of Austria, for the settlement of the pecuniary claims of this country upon the Court of Vienna.

"Anxiously as his Majesty deprecated the commencement of the war in Spain, he is every day more satisfied that, in the strict neutrality which he determined to observe in that contest (and which you so cordially approved), he best consulted the true interests of his people.

THEATRICAL.

MACBETH.—This *noblest* conception of the Poet, as embodied by Mr. CONWAY, on Monday last, exceeded our highest expectations, as well as every previous effort which we have witnessed on our stage, in the same great character. This evening will prove that the actor's popularity is now fixed on a permanent basis; no less honorable to the merit rewarded, than to the liberalty bestowed.—Nothing can surpass the climax of the murder-scene in the *agitated* utterance of the hypocritical apology for slaying the supposed murderer; and nothing can be more *consistently* and *naturally* beautiful, than the *retrogade* movement of Macbeth while making the confused and desperate attempt to drive *Banquo's* ghost from his presence. But we cannot analyze what appears to be almost perfection itself. We can only express our heartfelt thanks to this highly gifted actor, not only for the delight he afforded us, and for the opportunity he gave us to prove our claim to *discernment*; but also for initiating us in the true *beauties* of that *legitimate* school which needed only to be fully understood, in order to be as fully appreciated. MANY.

SHIPPING JOURNAL.

PORT OF BOSTON—1824.

TUESDAY, March 9.—Arrived last evening Packet ship Emerald, Fox, in the short passage of sixteen days from Liverpool. Sailed in co. with ships Sarah Ralston, Bowen, for Philad.; Juno, Miltimore, of Boston, for Savannah; Unicorn, McKnown, for N. Orleans. Left 20th Feb. ships Panthea, Bennet, for N. York, March 3; Amethyst, Bussey, Boston, Mar. 3d; Two Friends, Smith, of Boston, for Baltimore, Mar 10; Oscar, King, Mobile, Feb. 21; Hitty, Goodwin, Portsmouth, Feb. 21; Margaret, Mc'Lellan, of Port-

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By the Topaz and Emerald from Liverpool we have received files of Lloyd's and London Shipping Lists to the 17th Feb. The following are extracts:—

Off Dover 12th, Grampus, Gray, Charleston 26 days, for Antwerp.

Off Portland 7th, Canton Packet, Rotterdam for Boston.

At Christiansand Dec. 21, Ospray, Harding, St. Petersburg for Boston, leaky, rudder and keel damaged, lost anchor, cable, and sails, having struck on the outer rocks.

At Havre 6th, Hope, Clark, Charleston; Wm. Henry, McLellan, do.

At Marseilles 2d, America, Paterson, Boston; Cadmus, Crowell, do.

The New-Packet, Bell, from St. Petersburg to Portsmouth, N. H. put into Lochmuddy in distress and was driven on shore during a gale the 25th Jan. after cutting away her masts; she has been got off but will discharge when the weather moderates.

At Gravesend 15th Feb. Hope, Rider, Virginia; Favorite, Billing, Charleston—18th, Francis-Henrietta, Dickenson, New-York.

At Dover, 15th, Patrick Henry, Kennison, Jamaica and Laguira. Off Dover, Janus, Holmes, Boston for Rotterdam.

Sailed from Portsmouth 14th, Neptune, Waldron, N. Orleans.

Sailed from Cowes 14th, Volant, Nicholls, from New-York.

At Dartmouth 15th, George, Linaac, Virginia, with damage and leaky.

At Clyde 11th, Camillus, Peck, Charleston.

At Belfast 11th, Farmer, Collins, New-York.

At Newry, 14th, Hannibal, Watkinson, New-York; Hector, Gillender, do.

At Texel 12th, Wm.-&-Henry, Southworth, N. Orleans.

At Antwerp 13th, Two Brothers, Meek, Batavia.

At Havre 9th, Imperial, Ferrier, New-Orleans.

Off Havre 14th, Africa, ——, Charleston.

At Cadiz 22d, Agriella, Fluder, New-York.

At Gibraltar, 24th Jan. Rubicon, Woodbury, Boston—25th, America, Aldridge. Philad.

At Marseilles 4th Feb. New Priscilla, ——, Boston—6th Mercury, Henry, Campeachy.

CITY AFFAIRS.

A meeting of the City Council was held on Monday evening.

In the *Board of Aldermen*, the report of the joint Committee requesting the Mayor to address a letter to Gen. LAFAYETTE was accepted.

On petition of *Lot Wheelright* and others, a warrant was issued for calling a General Meeting of the citizens, on Monday next, 10 o'clock, in Faneuil-Hall, to give in their Yeas and Nays on the question. Is it for the interest and convenience of the city to have a free bridge or dam, from Wheeler's Point to South Boston, provided the same can be effected without any expense to the city, and whether they will instruct the City Government to petition for the same, and instruct their Senators and Representatives in the next Legislature to support such a measure? Adjourned.

The *Common Council* concurred (20 to 15) with the Board of Aldermen, in the non-acceptance of the report of the joint committee against allowing Faneuil Hall to be used on Sunday evening for political caucusses.

MARRIED,

In this city, by Rev. Dr. Baldwin, Mr. Joseph P. Leavitt to Miss Abigail H. Gilman.

On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Dean, Mr. Solomon Rice to Miss Susan Crocker.

On Sunday evening, by the Rev. Mr. Sharp, Mr. Josiah Withington to Miss Harriot Porter.

On Monday evening, by the Rev. Dr. Gardiner, John Prescott Bigelow, Esq. Counsellor at Law, to Miss Louisa Anne Brown.

On Tuesday evening, by the Rev. Mr. Palfry, Mr. Danforth Davis to Miss Lydia Mellish.

In Salem, Mr. Andrew Millet to Miss Sally Kehew.—Mr. William F. Symonds to Miss Elizabeth M. Bowditch.

In Newport, Capt. Isaiah Crocker, jun. of Bath, Me. to Mrs. Harriet G. Moore.

In New-York city, Alexander Buchanan, Esq. of Montreal, to Miss Mary Ann, eldest daughter of James Buchanan, Esq. His Britannic Majesty's Consul in New-York.

In Baltimore, Mr. Samuel Pinor, aged 70, to Mrs. Hannah Selby, aged 80.

DIED,

In this city, on Tuesday, 23 inst. Mr. John Ballard, aged 73.

On Thursday, Elizabeth S. Belcher, aged 7.

On Friday, Mr. William Burroughs, aged 36, merchant, of this city.

In Charlestown, Mr. John Brinckley, aged 63.—Mr. Benjamin Cutter, aged 62.

In Cambridge, on 7th instant, (at the house of his son, Dr. G. Bradford) GAMALIEL BRADFORD, Esq. Warden of the State Prison, aged 60. [*Obituary in our next.*]

In Salem, widow Hannah Brown, aged 88.—Mrs. Mary Brookhouse.—Mr. Elijah Johnson, aged 70.

In Haverhill, Mr. Moses Webster, aged 79.

In Boxford, Mr. Jeremiah Harriman, aged 84—and in three hours after his wife, Mrs. Sarah H. aged 71.

In Newbury, Mrs. Mary Rogers, aged 99.

In New Bedford, Mr. Lorenzo W. D'Wolf, aged 26.

In Brewster Mass. Capt. Isaac Foster.—On the 5th inst. Mrs. Mary, wife of William Crosby, Esq. aged 58.

In York, Me. Madame Ruth Lyman, aged 93, relict of the late Rev. Isaac L.

In Saco, Me. Thomas G. Thornton, Esq. marshal of Maine, aged 54.

In Warren, Me. Miss Caroline Matilda, aged 16, daughter of Mr. Samuel Davis, formerly of Boston.

In Belfast, Me. on board sch. Aristides, Capt. Oliver Lane, of Deer Isle, aged 30. He was at work during the day, and apparently in good health until a few minutes before he expired.

In Poultney, Vt. Rev. Clark Kendric, aged 40.

In New-York, William Buxton, of Maine, aged 17.—Reuben Sherman, of Mass. aged 37.—John M. Newcomb, of Maine, aged 31.—Godfrey Ricketson, of Mass. aged 25.—Violet Osborne, of Maine, aged 32.

In N. Orleans, Mr. Samuel Cranston, of Mass. aged 35.

In London, Jan. 12, in his Counting house, in a fit of apoplexy, Joseph Marryat, Esq. aged 67.—Chairman of the Committee at Lloyd's and Member of Parliament for Sandwich.

Drowned at sea from on board brig James & Isabella, Mr. Robert Davis, seaman.

37.13ff. Voyages of Dampier...flaps of their coats] See [Mrs. Christian Isobel Johnstone], Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish and Dampier, including a View of the History of the Buccaneers, Edinburgh, 1831, and reprinted at Edinburgh and elsewhere several times thereafter—once in the "Edinburgh Cabinet Library." It also appeared in the Harper's Family Library, N.Y., 1832, the spine reading: Lives and Voyages of Early Navigators.

38.12 the form of his ship...shape of a butterfly...of a log] Cf. 352.17.

38.15 through all that is sublime and terrible in nature] See note on 19.7.

38.18 crack his cheeks] See Shakespeare's King Lear, III,ii,1——"Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!"

38.34 Fellatahs of Africa] Emerson had probably read about them in "African Discoveries," Quarterly Review, XXXIII, no. 66 (March, 1826), pp. 518-549.

39.1 Caribee Indians] See Humboldt's description of them in a review of the Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent (London, 1819) in John Barrow, "De Humboldt's Travels," Quarterly Review, XXI, no. 42 (Apr., 1819), pp. 320-352, esp. pp. 345-346.

39.4 Mungo Park rode slowly by a red lion] See Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa...in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797, London, 1800, p. 210: "I then perceived a large red lion at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore paws. I expected he would instantly spring upon me, and instinctively pulled my feet from my stirrups, to throw myself on the ground, that my horse might become the victim, rather than myself. But it is probable the lion was not hungry, for he quietly suffered us to pass, though we were fairly within his reach. My eyes were so rivetted upon this sovereign of the beasts, that I found it impossible to remove them until we were at a considerable distance."

39.12 An Indian girl at Urituco...crocodile] This account appears in several places, one of them in a volume which Emerson owned: William Macgillivray, The Travels and Researches of Alexander von Humboldt: being a Condensed Narrative of his Journeys in the Equinoctial Regions of America and in Asiatic Russia, (2nd ed.) Edinburgh, 1833, p. 210. Other stories illustrating man's presence of mind in the face of danger appear on pp. 286-287.

40.20 I one day forgot...the motion of my hand...looking only at the mark, the stone struck it] This imagery reappears years later in line 25 of Emerson's Second Merlin Song: "Toy with the bow, yet hit the white." Cf. Journals, IV, 291: "The hand is needed to teach the use of the eye." See Works, VII, 157: "The sympathy of eye and hand by which an Indian...hits his mark with a stone." Cf. 107.33.

40.30 all the senses fitted to each other] At one or two points in this lecture Emerson seems to have made slight use of John Kidd, On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man, London (Bridgewater Treatise), 1833. Emerson here did not exhaust its rich resources, some of which may have come to mind later on while he was composing the poem, "Each and All." See, for example, pages 140-143: "Evelyn well observes, that the bountiful Creator has left none of the senses which he has not gratified at once with their most agreeable and proper objects. Of all the objects of sense, sound perhaps, as a principle of mental association, the most powerfully excites a recollection of past scenes and feelings.... It is said to be the opinion of the Hindoos, that thought not of much value in argument, there is at least a metaphysical elegance in the opinion, that the remarkable effects of music on the human mind depend on its power of recalling to the memory the airs of paradise, heard in a state of preexistence.... It is said that at that period of his life, when the consequences of his infatuated conduct had fully developed themselves in unforeseen reverses, Napoleon, driven to the necessity of defending himself within his own kingdom with the shattered remnant of his army, had taken up a position at Brienne, the very spot where he had received the rudiments of his early education;

when, unexpectedly, and while he was anxiously employed in a practical application of those military principles which first exercised the energies of his young mind in the college of Brienne, his attention was arrested by the sound of the church clock. The pomp of his imperial court, and even the glories of Marengo and of Austerlitz, faded for a moment from his regard, and almost from his recollection. Fixed for a while to the spot on which he stood, in motionless attention to the well known sound, he at length gave utterance to his feelings; and condemned the tenour of all his subsequent life, by confessing that the hours, then brought back to his recollection, were happier than any he had experienced throughout the whole course of his tempestuous career."

41.4 It has been said, "if the hand had not been divided into fingers, man would still be wild in the forest."] See Dugald Stewart, Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, (rev. ed.), Part III, chap. II ("Faculties of Man and Brutes Compared") in Works: "Among these different considerations stated by Helvetius, the first alone seems to me to deserve any particular attention. When to the indispensable necessity of the sense of touch for the examination of external objects, we add the beautiful mechanism of the hand, which Aristotle justly calls 'the instrument of instruments,' and without which the practice of many of the arts of life would be quite impossible, it is not wonderful that such a writer as Helvetius should have been led to conclude, that 'if the wrist of a man had been terminated by the hoof of a horse, the species would still have been wandering in the forest.' Nor is Helvetius the only philosopher who has adopted this conclusion." Stewart gives the original French in a footnote: "Si la Nature au lieu de mains et de doigts flexibles eut terminé nos poignets par un pied de cheval, qui doute que les hommes ne fussent encore errants dans les forêts comme des troupeaux fugitifs?" [From De l'Esprit, early pages.] The Emerson family had read Claude Adrien Helvétius, A Treatise on Man, his Intellectual Faculties and his Education, tr. from the French with notes by W. Hooper, (2 vols.) London, 1777. See Cameron, The Transcendentalists and Minerva, I, 60.

41.15 "Every degree of latitude has its own fruit."] This is quite possibly Emerson's rewriting of Addison's sentence, quoted in the note on 41.16: "Almost every degree produces something peculiar to it."

41.16 Food is in one place, spice in another, medicine in a third.... And so she acquaints her children with each other.] Emerson remembered a delightful passage from Addison to which Dugald Stewart paid tribute in Dissertation First: Exhibiting a General View of the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy: Part Two, Boston, [1822], p. 102: "Nature seems to have taken a particular care to disseminate her blessings among the different regions of the world, with an eye to the mutual intercourse and traffic among mankind; that the natives of the several parts of the globe might have a kind of dependance upon one another, and be united together by their common interest. Almost every degree produces something peculiar to it. The food often grows in one country, and the sauce in another. The fruits of Portugal are corrected by the products of Barbadoes; the infusion of a China plant [tea], sweetened with the pith of an Indian cane [sugar]. The Philippine Islands give a flavour to our European bowls. The single dress of a woman of quality is often the product of a hundred climates. The muff and the fan come together from the opposite ends of the earth. The scarf is sent from the torrid zone, and the tippet from beneath the pole. The brocade petticoat rises out of the mines of Peru, and the diamond necklace out of the bowels of Indostan."

41.18 And so she acquaints her children with each other] See 330.19.

41.26 constellation of the Southern Cross] Emerson had borrowed from the Boston Library Society volume II of Alexander freiherr von Humboldt, Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent (1799-1804), tr. Helen Maria Williams, (3 vols.) London, 1814, on Jan. 29, 1831, on pages 21ff. of which appears the memorable description of this constellation. He came upon it again in John Barrow, "De Humboldt's Travels," Quarterly Review, XIV, no. 28 (Jan., 1816), 368-402, esp. 395-396: "Impatient to rove in the

equinoctial regions, I could not raise my eyes towards the starry vault without thinking of the Cross of the South, and without recalling the sublime passage of Dante.... In the solitude of the seas, we hail a star as a friend from whom we have long been separated. Among the Portugueze and the Spaniards, peculiar motives seem to encrease this feeling; a religious sentiment attaches them to a constellation, the form of which recals the sign of the faith planted by their ancestors in the deserts of the new world. The two great stars which mark the summit and the foot of the Cross having nearly the same right ascension, it follows hence that the constellation is almost perpendicular at the moment when it passes the meridian.... It has been observed at what hour of the night, in different seasons, the Cross of the South is erect, or inclined. It is a time-piece that advances very regularly near four minutes a day, and no other group of stars exhibits, to the naked eye, an observation of time so easily made."

42.1 Rafflesia] See "Life and Public Services of Sir Stamford Raffles," Quarterly Review, XLII, no. 84 (Mar., 1830), pp. 405-450, esp. p. 430: "An interesting account is given of this journey [into the interior]: in the course of which was discovered the largest and most extraordinary flower, perhaps, that exists in the whole creation—the Rafflesia Arnoldi, called by the natives the 'devil's betel-box,' and of which Sir Stamford says,—'The most important discovery throughout our journey was a gigantic flower, of which I can hardly attempt to give anything like a just description. It is perhaps the largest and most magnificent flower in the world, and is so distinct from every other, that I know not to what I can compare it; its dimensions will astonish you—it measured across from the extremity of the petals rather more than a yard; the nectarium was nine inches wide, and as deep—estimated to contain a gallon and a half of water; and the weight of the whole flower fifteen pounds.'"

42.8 Ages ago it was settled that man should be master.] An allusion to Genesis 1:28——"And God blessed them, and...said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea...the fowl of the air and...every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

42.15 species of cuckoo, called indicator] It is mentioned in John Barrow, "Lichtenstein's Travels in Southern Africa," Quarterly Review, VIII, no. 16 (Dec., 1812), p. 383: "As an object of interest, the little cuckoo, (indicator,) which points out by its action and chirping noise the bees' nest, cannot fail to attract the notice of the traveller...."

42.18 When the Buccaneers landed...guided in their selection of unknown fruits by the birds] See [Mrs. Christian Isobel Johnstone], Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish and Dampier including a View of the History of the Buccaneers, Edinburgh, 1831 [there were many editions], ch. VIII ("Adventures with the Buccaneers"): "In selecting wild-fruits they were guided by the birds, freely eating whatever kind had been pecked; and no bird, it was observed, ever touched the manchineel." Cf. Journals, III, 196 (Sept. 5, 1833).

43.10 learned from the chance experience of some dairy-maids to inoculate his flesh] Emerson read David Uwins, "History of Small-Pox and Vaccination," Quarterly Review, XIX, no. 38 (July, 1818), pp. 357-375, esp. pp. 368-371; also, possibly, Francis Jeffrey, "Robert Willan and Others on Vaccination," Edinburgh Review, IX, no. 17 (Oct., 1806), pp. 32-66.

45.9 there are states of feeling in your mind which correspond to all these phenomena] See note on 27.2.

45.30 Humboldt in his account of the Chayma Indians on the banks of the Colorado] The quoted passage is found in a volume in Emerson's library: William Macgillivray, The Travels and Researches of Alexander von Humboldt, being a condensed Narrative, (2nd ed.) N.Y., 1833. It appears also in the Edinburgh, 1833, edition on p. 118. The reference to "Rio Colorado" appears on p. 115.

46.3 the wild man exhibits his delight in God's world more steadily than we] A study of the sources of Emerson's "primitivism" remains to be written. They

will include William Cullen Bryant's Poems (always favorites with Emerson), William Wordsworth, but especially Rousseau, whose Émile he had read in his senior year at Harvard. (See Journals and Notebooks, I, 176.) See below, 359.26. Emerson's personal copy of Émile, ou de l'Education, (6 vols., Paris, 1794) bears the inscription: "E. B. Emerson from his brother W. Emerson. 1819." R.W.E. also seems to have owned at an early date an edition of Les Confessions, (4 vols., Paris, 1808) and Julie, ou La Nouvelle Héloïse, (4 vols., Paris, 1817). The Emerson family, moreover, borrowed at least two of Rousseau's works from the Boston Library Society. See The Transcendentalists and Minerva, I, 46 and 65; also E T E, II, 160, 162, and 182. Cf. Letters, I, 188 and 444.

46.4 walls of cities and their artificial modes of life have not yet tamed the savage in us.] Cf. 259.18.

47.15 Professor Buckland...identity of an antediluvian animal...with the hyena...last meal of the fossil animal...digested bone] Emerson had read of this on page 208 of a review of William Buckland's Reliquiae Diluvianae (London, 1823) in "Geology of the Deluge," Edinburgh Review, XXXIX, no. 77 (Oct., 1823), pp. 196-234. Some of the same details appear in "Transactions of the Geological Society——Progress of Geological Science," Edinburgh Review, LII, no. 103 (Oct., 1830), pp. 43-72, esp. on pp. 68-69. Evidence for Emerson's having read the second appears in Journals, II, 423 fn.

48.5 finding the principle of Polarity in all the laws of matter, in light, heat....] Emerson here reflects his reading in Coleridge, esp. in The Friend. See E T E, I, 102, 114, 157, 213, 218.

49.8 I am thrilled with delight by the choral harmony of the whole. Design ...beauty...astonishment.] The language here suggests eighteenth-century Deism, Addison's hymn ("The Spacious Firmament on High"), Paley's Natural Theology, Pope's Essay on Man, and Bp. Joseph Butler's Analogy. The tone, however, is romantic. In this rhapsodic concluding paragraph Emerson anticipated the Transcendental language of Sermon 169 ("The Miracle of Our Being"), delivered a few months later on Sept. 7, 1834. See Young Emerson Speaks, 203-212. On Emerson's fondness for St. Augustine's "Alii disputent, ego mirabor," see E T E, I, 186, fn. 303. For paradoxical comments on the words wonder and astonishment, see the references listed in E T E, index. Cf. 100.15 and 101.18ff.

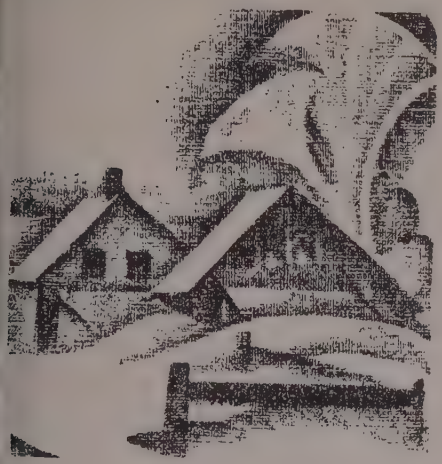
52.8 this action he [water] performs under as many shapes as he has ways of working] An allusion to Proteus, whom Emerson remembered from Homer's Odyssey, Bk. IV, 351ff. See note on Bacon's "Proteus" at 259.8.

56.34 Dr. Hutton had advanced the opinion that beds of limestone were formed of the shells and exuviae of marine animals] The most popular statement of James Hutton's opinion is found in a book Emerson read: John Playfair, Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth, Edinburgh, 1802, pp. 143ff. ("Origin of Calcareous Rocks"). The principal British reviews published many subsequent discussions.

57.6 Sir James Hall...determined to try the experiment and make a little quarry of marble himself] Sir James Hall, "Account of a Series of Experiments, Showing the Effects of Compression in Modifying the Action of Heat," Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. VI. Emerson apparently secured his information from John Playfair, "Sir James Hall on the Effects of Heat and Compression," Edinburgh Review, IX, no. 17 (Oct., 1806), pp. 19-31. Many periodical articles dealt with the subject. See, for example, "Dr. Clarke on Blowpipes and Volcanoes," Edinburgh Review, XXXII, no. 64 (Oct., 1819), pp. 430-440, esp. pp. 436-437.

60.35 another office water performs...in the form of dew] Emerson borrowed from the Boston Athenaeum for a week's use (Jan. 11-18, 1834), William Charles Wells, An Essay on Dew and Several Appearances Connected with it, (2nd ed.) London, 1815.

EMERSON SOCIETY QUARTERLY, No. 20 III Quarter 1960 PART 2



OUR CONTEMPORARY NEED OF EMERSON

By LEONARD B. GRAY

O Concord Seer, we need you now—
More than at any other time
Since light of truth first flamed from you
And lit the mind from Boston Town
To far-flung prairies of the West.
Your day was ready for your word,
Despite tradition's heavy hand
That tried to bind you to the past,
For youth and many youthful minds
Were thirsting for your firm, fresh voice
That sent a clarion call to search
For truth and man's potential worth.
But now our age ignores your voice,
And human dignity is hurt
By careless thought and doubt and by
Misuse of scientific skills.
O speak, great Seer, to modern men
And give to them new zest to find
The greatness of the human soul
That still exists, and make them see
That what you spoke is true today
As it was when that flowering
Incited by your faith in man
Did much to make our country great.
O Emerson! Speak to our day!
You are perennial, though dim
Your light in recent years, and man
Inherently the same through Time
And changing modes of life, but needs
To hear a clearer call from you
To scale the heights you mean for him.

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63.4 one half the world does not know how the other half lives] For this proverb and its variants since the Renaissance—e.g., from Rabelais (1532) and George Herbert (1640) in Jacula Prudentum—see William George Smith, The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs and Burton Stevenson, The Home Book of Quotations.

63.29 the fine phenomenon of the deposit of dew] Discussed in Mrs. Mary (Fairfax) Somerville's The Connection of the Physical Sciences, Phila., 1834, pp. 187ff. Other details for this lecture on "Water" were also probably gleaned from this popular handbook.

67.8 This principle...ingeniously applied to Mr. Bramah's Hydrostatic Press] Discussed and illustrated in Dionysius Lardner, Hydrostatics and Pneumatics, London, 1831, pp. 13-14. Joseph Bramah (1748-1814) also invented a safety lock and a machine for printing banknotes.

71.7 But it is said that Man is the only object of interest to man] Emerson probably had in mind Xenophon's remark in the Memorabilia, quoted in Dugald Stewart, Philosophical Essays, Edinburgh, 1810, p. xlix: "As for [Socrates], Man, and what related to Man, were the only subjects on which he chose to employ his inquiries and his conversation." Cf. 23.5. Cf. Alexander Pope, "Essay on Man," Epistle II, lines 1-18. Cf. the riddle of the Sphinx, the "heavenly descended Γνωθι Σεαυτον," and George Herbert's poem, "Man."

71.16 Earth...bountiful mother and nurse, the abode...and the tomb of us all] Possibly a reminiscence of a favorite poem, William Cullen Bryant's "Thanatopsis."

71.23 An everlasting Now reigns in Nature] Emerson's "Transcendental existentialism" is sounded in all three of his great challenges. See (1) Nature (1836), 5.2-18. See also (2) "The American Scholar" (Works, I, 111): "Give me insight into to-day, and you may have the antique and future worlds." (3) See "An Address Delivered...in Divinity College" (Works, I, 126): "Meantime, whilst the doors of the temple stand open, night and day, before every man, and the oracles of this truth cease never, it is guarded by one stern condition; this, namely: it is an intuition." See Works, I, 144: "God is, not was; ...He speaketh, not spake." Emerson was fond of Coleridge's reply to Isaac Taylor in Church and State: "The world in which I exist is another world indeed, but not to come." See E T E, I, 152, 187, and Journals, III, 371 and 488. See Cameron, "Emerson and Swedenborgism: A Study Outline and Analysis," E S Q, no. 10 (I Quarter 1958), pp. 14-20, esp. p. 18 bottom.

72.1 Lagrange and Laplace found out the periodicity of errors] One of Emerson's dependable handbooks on astronomy was Mrs. Mary (Fairfax) Somerville's The Connection of the Physical Sciences, Phila., 1834. See pp. 20 et passim and the index. Also her quotation from Prof. Playfair in her Mechanism of the Heavens, London, 1831, pp. xv-xvi: "After Newton's discovery of the elliptical orbits of the planets, La Grange's discovery of their periodical inequalities is without doubt the noblest truth in physical astronomy; and, in respect of the doctrine of final causes, it may be regarded as the greatest of all." For a careful discussion of the periodicity of errors, familiar to Harvard students of the period, see John Farrar's An Elementary Treatise on Astronomy, Cambridge, N.E., 1827, pp. 205-219.

72.7 The whole force of the Creation is concentrated upon every point.... Woven in their loom every plant....] A remarkable illustration of this principle appears in Emerson's sermon, "The Miracle of our Being," Young Emerson Speaks, ed. McGiffert, 207.25—208.10, on the influences shaping a summer blackberry. "The Naturalist" (May 7, 1834) may have had an influence on the sermon (Sept. 7, 1834). Their relationship is yet to be determined. Cf. 297.4.

72.9 agencies of electricity, gravity, light, affinity] These are discussed in William Enfield, Institutes of Natural Philosophy, Theoretical and Practical, ed. Samuel Webber, (5th ed.) Boston, 1832. Emerson knew an earlier edition while a student at Harvard. For his juvenile reaction to this text, see Journals, I, 23.

72.16 [Goethe] said "no man should be admitted into his Republic, who was not versed in Natural History."] Source not located. Also quoted in Emerson's "Country Life," Works, XII, p. 161.

72.19 The soul and the body of things are harmonized] Cf. 25.24. See De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21.

72.22 "The smallest production of nature," says Goethe..."ever a freshly uttered Word of God." From Goethe's letter to the Grand Duchess Luise of Weimar, written from Rome. See Journals, II, 349-350. Cf. 327.33.

73.6 the great Artist whose blood beats in our veins] On "receptionism" see note on 119.12. See De Staël's Germany, ¶ 21.

73.8 build St. Peter'ses or paint Transfigurations or sing Iliads] See De Staël's Germany, ¶ 21.

73.18 French cook who could make forty dishes out of macaroni] Another example of Emerson's platform humor. Source not located.

73.24 Composition...more important than the elegance of individual forms... shells...wet and social by the sea and under the sky] See 317.20. Also 40.30 for note on a possible source for Emerson's "Each and All."

74.11 deriving their original combination perhaps from their polarity] See note on 48.5.

74.21 Fontenelle...the order of the Universe...virtues...properties...astonishment, 'What! Is this all?'] See 317.15.

74.31 Imitation, the vice of overcivilized communities...the vice...of our times] See 142.23ff.; 382.33; and note on 131.11.

75.4 our strength and weakness...an immense floating diction from which always we draw] See note on 229.36.

75.14 The study of things leads us back to Truth] See note on 131.13.

75.20 distinguishing between the similar and the same] For this important distinction enunciated by Coleridge, see E T E, I, 160, 168, 184, 342. See Biographia Literaria, (2 vols. in 1) N.Y., 1817, II, 107 (borrowed from Harvard on Nov. 16, 1826): "The greater part of our success and comfort in life depends on distinguishing the similar from the same." See also the remark of Montesquieu in the note on 25.6, which cites De Staël's Germany, ¶ 18. See Thomas Warton's The History of English Poetry, ed. Richard Price, (4 vols.) London, 1824, I, (101): "...the acknowledged historical axiom [of Montesquieu], that 'le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable....'"

75.24 their yea is yea; their nay, nay] See Matt. 5:37——"But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." See also James 5:12 and 2 Cor. 1:17. See 171.29 and 178.6.

75.25 Light yields to Dr. Brewster] David Brewster published a number of tracts on the polarization of light in the Philosophical Transactions from 1813 to 1818. Emerson knew a survey of them in "Polarization of Light," Edinburgh Review, XXXII, no. 63 (July, 1819), pp. 170-192. He borrowed from the Boston Athenaeum on Feb. 10, 1832, Brewster's definitive treatment of light--his Treatise on Optics (London, 1831), volume 19 of the Athenaeum's set of the Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia. (See my correction of Ralph Waldo Emerson's Reading in E T E, II, 223.)

75.27 it has published the same fact to the Universe every moment since the beginning] See Genesis 1:3-4——"And God said, Let there be light: and there was

light. And God saw the light, that it was good."

76.24 people in Venice...who never leave the quarter of the city where they are born] This thought is implied in Journals, III, 136-137.

77.10 "It is Day. It is Day."] Emerson's "day imagery" deserves careful study. Cf. 76.33, 77.4, 318.31, et passim. Cf. Nature (1836), index-concordance, and the poem "Days." Cf. the conclusion of Thoreau's Walden: "Only that day dawns to which we are awake. There is more day to dawn. The sun is but a morning star." Cf. Carlyle's "To-day:" "Out of Eternity the new Day is born; / Into Eternity at night will return." See also his German Romance, (4 vols.) Edinburgh, 1827, IV, ("Goethe"), p. [35]: "Now it is Day; be doing every one! / For the Night cometh, wherein work can none." Cf. Romans 13:13——"Let us walk honestly, as in the day...." See 2 Cor. 6:2——"...behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." See 1 Thess. 5:8—— "But let us, who are of the day, be sober...." See 2 Peter 1:19——"...that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts."

77.24 schoolbooks...illustrate the porosity of matter: Fill a tub with cannonballs] I have not discovered this illustration in any schoolbook which Emerson is known to have used, not even in Jeremiah Joyce, Scientific Dialogues, issued in many editions: e.g., (6 vols.) London, 1809; (7 vols.) London, 1817. This interesting work deserves perusal. (See my Emerson's Early Reading List (1819-1824), N.Y., 1951, pp. 5 and 10. A good contemporary account of porosity known to Emerson (but lacking the tub of cannonballs) was Rene Just Haüy, An Elementary Treatise on Natural Philosophy, tr. from the French by Olinthus Gregory, (2 vols.) London, 1807, I, pp. 22-24. Cf. Journals, VII, 10, and "Porosity" in the Encyclopaedia Americana, (13 vols.) Phila., 1830-1833, X, pp. 263-264.

78.24 a conviction that Nature means something, that the flower, the animals, the sea, the rock have some relation to us] See De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 11, 18-21.

78.27 men have been fingering the characters that are carved on the Egyptian remains these thousand years, sure that they mean something] Contemporary periodicals carried articles concerning the successful efforts of Jean François Champollion (1790-1832), who, in studying the Rosetta Stone, derived a clue for deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics. See, for example, James Browne, "Hieroglyphics," Edinburgh Review, XLV, no. 89 (Dec., 1826), pp. 95-147; James Browne, "Further Notices of Hieroglyphics," Edinburgh Review, XLV, no. 90 (Mar., 1827), pp. 528-539. See also an anonymous review, "Klaproth on Hieroglyphical Discovery," Edinburgh Review, LVII, no. 116 (July, 1833), pp. 461-476. See also John Barrow, "Champollion's Hieroglyphical Alphabet," Quarterly Review, XXVIII, no. 55 (Oct., 1822), pp. 188-196 (with the alphabet illustrated); also an anonymous review, "Egyptian Antiquities," Quarterly Review, XLIII, no. 85 (May, 1830), pp. 111-155.

78.31 hieroglyphics of Nature...the cipher] For rich commentary, see "hieroglyphic" and "hieroglyphics" in the index of E T E.

78.34 this their open secret is not translateable into words] For other references to Nature's secret or enigma—or to the sphinx which challenges man to solve the riddle of the natural world—see 79.5, 225.9-10, and the note on 224.24.

78.34 to make the face of the earth...more to me...Humboldt...muleteer] See 17.3 and 18.1. The problem of the "cultivated observer" was memorably fixed in Emerson's mind during his days at Harvard by a passage from Ralph Cudworth's Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality, which he found quoted in two of his major bibliographical resources: See Dugald Stewart, Dissertation First: Exhibiting A General View of the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, [Part One, Edinburgh, 1816], p. 66; and Richard Price, A Review of the Principal Questions in Morals, (3rd ed.) London, 1787. I quote the pas-

sage as given in the latter, on pp. 20-21: "See Dr. Cudworth's Treatise... Book IV. Chap. 2. where he observes, that the mind perceives, by occasion of outward objects, as much more than is represented to it by sense, as a learned man perceives in the best written book, more than an illiterate person or brute. To the eyes of both the same characters will appear; but the learned man in those characters (to use Dr. Cudworth's words) will 'see heaven, earth, sun, and stars; read profound theorems of philosophy or geometry; learn a great deal of knowledge from them, and admire the wisdom of the composer: While to the other nothing appears but black strokes drawn upon white paper. The reason of which is, that the mind of the one is furnished with certain previous inward anticipations, ideas, and instruction, that the other wants.——In the room of this book of human composition, let us now (adds he) substitute the book of nature, written all over with the characters and impressions of divine wisdom and goodness, but legible only to an intellectual eye; for the sense both of man and brute, there appears nothing else in it, but as in the other, so many inky scrawls.... But to the mind, which hath a participation of the divine wisdom that made it, and being printed all over with the same archetypal seal, upon occasion of those sensible delineations, and taking notice of whatsoever is cognate to it, exerting its own inward activity from thence, will have not only a wonderful scene, and large prospects of other thoughts laid open before it, and variety of knowledge, logical, mathematical, and moral displayed; but also clearly read the divine wisdom and goodness in every page of this great volume, as it were written in large and legible characters.'" (Cudworth may be said to have entered significantly into the earliest phase of Emerson's Transcendentalism.)

79.4 Men of...a contemplative mind have in all ages pondered this secret] See note on 224.24. Cf. 225.9-10.

79.5 Goethe...sought to give an explanation of Nature; of...plants] Goethe's "Metamorphose der Pflanzen" is translated in Sarah Austin, Characteristics of Goethe, (3 vols.) London, 1833, I, 167-171. Throughout the Italiänische Reise in his edition of the Werke, (55 vols.) Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1828-1833, vols. XXVII-XXIX, Emerson came upon Goethe's reports on his attempt to find the primordial or proto-plant (Urpflanze). See under the following dates: Mar. 25, 1787; Apr. 17, 1787; May 17, 1787.

79.8 Oromasdes made good creatures, Ahriman the evil] Emerson's early knowledge of Zoroastrianism included The History of Philosophy by William Enfield, (2 vols.) London, 1791, I, 44-45. See Journals, II, 473-475, for a discussion based on Emerson's reading of vol. XXXVII of Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, borrowed from the Boston Athenaeum from Apr. 18 to May 8, 1832. See also Joseph Marie de Gérando, Histoire Comparée des Systèmes de Philosophie, (2^{e} éd., 4 tomes), Paris, 1822-1833, I, 241-254, esp. p. 250.

79.9 Pythagoras...penance in low forms...pig] See the preceding note for two of Emerson's sources: William Enfield and Joseph Marie de Gérando, I, 396-432. (See Journals, II, 340-341; VIII, 239-240.)

79.12 Swedenborg taught that the soul creates...affections clothe themselves in...fox...lamb] See under "affections clothed" in the index of E T E. The specific reference is to Sampson Reed, "On Animals," New Jerusalem Magazine, II, no. 1 (Sept., 1828), pp. 23-29. See note on 221.29.

79.17 an obstinate belief in the human mind that these creatures have a relation to itself] See De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 11, 18-21.

79.19 This instinct is to be the guide, the god of inquiry] See 10.9ff., 78.24, and note on 224.24.

79.21 for want of this marriage...both remain unfruitful. The poet...mere fabulist.... The savant...a pedant] On the "analogy that marries Matter and Mind" see Nature (1836), 46.19-20. Emerson expands on the lack of this marriage in similar language in Nature, 91.5-20 and pp. 82-84. See above for note on 24.21.

79.22 The poet loses himself in imaginations...is a mere fabulist] Cf. 91.26 and 297.7.

79.29 The Arabian Nights tell us what the social birds say...in autumn... catbird...titmouse] Cf. 260.11. Emerson owned the edition edited and revised by Jonathan Scott, (6 vols.) Phila., 1826, but during his childhood his family made heavy use of two editions in the Boston Library Society: (4 vols.) London (Piguenit), 1792; (4 vols.) Phila., 1812. "The Story of the Two Sisters Who Were Jealous of their Younger Sister" is one that includes a talking bird, a singing tree, and golden water. There is an accompanying chorus of birds. See Nature (1836), 81.5: "We do not understand the notes of birds." Also Journals, III, 533-534: "The birds fly from us, and we do not understand their music.... Yet it is strange that all our life is accompanied by Dreams on one side, and by the Animals on the other, as monuments of our ignorance, or Hints to set us on the right road of inquiry." See Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry, (4 vols.) London, 1824, I, xviii: "The attribution of prophetical language to birds was common among the orientals: and an eagle is supposed to speak at building the walls of the city of Paladur, now Shaftesbury." See also his Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, (2nd ed., 2 vols.) London, 1762, I, 54. For a modern resource, see E. Cobham Brewer, A Dictionary of Miracles, Phila., n.d., under "Birds." Emerson might have remembered The Spectator, No. 512, a part of which I quote: "We are told that the sultan Mahmoud, by his perpetual wars abroad and his tyranny at home, had filled his dominions with ruin and desolation, and half unpeopled the Persian empire. The vizier to this great sultan (whether an humourist or an enthusiast, we are not informed) pretended to have learned of a certain dervise to understand the language of birds, so that there was not a bird that could open his mouth but the vizier knew what it was he said. As he was one evening with the emperor, in their return from hunting, they saw a couple of owls upon a tree that grew near an old wall out of a heap of rubbish. 'I would fain know,' says the sultan, 'what those two owls are saying to one another; listen to their discourse, and give me an account of it.' The vizier approached the tree, pretending to be very attentive to the two owls. Upon his return to the sultan, 'Sir,' says he, 'I have heard part of their conversation, but dare not tell you what it is.' The sultan would not be satisfied with such an answer, but forced him to repeat word for word every thing the owls had said. 'You must know then,' said the vizier, 'that one of these owls has a son, and the other a daughter, between whom they are now upon a treaty of marriage. The father of the son said to the father of the daughter, in my hearing, 'Brother, I consent to this marriage, provided you will settle upon your daughter fifty ruined villages for her portion.' To which the father of the daughter replied, 'Instead of fifty, I will give her five hundred, if you please. God grant a long life to sultan Mahmoud! Whilst he reigns over us, we shall never want ruined villages.'"

79.32 I expect to know much of the biography of plants.] This Romantic interest in single objects of nature and in personification (katy-dids, honey bees, skylarks, waterfowls, honeysuckle, field mice, etc.) is reflected in Emerson's "Rhodora," "The Snowstorm," "The Humble-Bee," "The Violet," and "The Titmouse." Cf. Journals, III, 290-291.

80.5 to see a pumpkin in Hadley meadows] If Hadley, in Hampshire County, Western Massachusetts, on the Connecticut River, had special significance in Emerson's day, I have been unable to find mention of it in the gazetteers of the period.

80.10 insects as efforts, foreshadowings...man is the type by which we measure the insect] Emerson had read Sampson Reed's review of An Introduction to Entomology by William Kirby and William Spence. See New Jerusalem Magazine, II (1828-1829), 370-371: "When the Almighty Creator willed to bring into existence this mundane system, he formed it according to a preconcerted plan.... I call it a system of Correlation, because there is discernible in it...a concatenation of its parts, by which, as to their forms and uses, objects are linked together in groups by a chain of affinities; so that we pass from one to the other by gentle gradations, without having to overleap any wide interval. We see also a

gradual ascent from low to high, from less to more excellent. And this leads us to another kind of relationship between natural objects, by which, though placed in distinct groups or in a different series, they in some sort represent and symbolize each other. Examples of this relationship by analogy are to be found in every kingdom of nature, and often form an ascending series from the lowest to the highest; for, as we shall see hereafter, these resemblances appear to maintain a certain correspondence with each other as to their relative situations; so that, for instance, in the animal kingdom they ascend step by step, without being linked by affinity or having any real juxtaposition, from the lowest groups, towards man, who stands alone at the head, or in the centre of all." See p. 374: "According to this opinion...the series of beings is involved in the highest degree, rolling wheel within wheel, ad infinitum, and revolving, if I may so speak, round its centre and summit—man."

80.12 odd Brentus Anchorago...different from man but....] See 10.10.

80.27 the elemental law, the causa causans, the supernatural force] The Cosmological or Etiological argument for the existence of God, illustrated here, is based upon the idea of causality inherent in us. It leads from effects to causes, and from higher causes to the causes behind them and thence to the Prime Mover or Causa causans. In this lecture and in his full-blown Transcendentalism Emerson avoids any inference that there may be what theologians call "personality" in the Godhead or that God is a "personal God." Elsewhere he denies "personeity." Cf. 103.32. See E T E, I, 80-81, 85, 131, 154, 192, 202, 243, 374, 412, 419-420.

81.1 it is most fit as a part of the study of himself that he should inquire into the nature of these related beings.] See note on 23.23.

81.5 place him as it were at the heart of the Creation] See note on 80.10ff.

81.8 a Theory of animated nature...its Law] On the right method for discovering a fundamental Theory or Law, according to Coleridge, see E T E, I, 212-214. See Early Lectures, 82.3 and 83.11.

81.23 the moral impressions which it is their highest office to convey] See De Staël's Germany, ¶ 21.

82.1 instinctive perception of relations which he can only feel without being able to comprehend or define] Cf. 10.12.

82.3 point...steadily at Method, at a Theory] See 81.8.

82.32 promises to our society] On Emerson's membership in the Boston Society of Natural History, see my "Emerson, Thoreau, and the Society of Natural History," American Literature, XXIV, no. 1 (March, 1952), 21-30.

83.8 shines from the stars, glows in the flower, moves in the animal] Probably an unconscious echo of the famous pantheistic lines in Alexander Pope's "Essay on Man," I, 267ff.

83.7 the early Greeks...call the globe κοσμος or Beauty] See 100.15.

83.10 the highest state of man, physical, intellectual, and moral, can only coexist with a perfect Theory of Animated Nature.] Emerson again ends a scientific lecture on the theme enunciated by Madame De Staël in Germany. See ¶s. 14, 16, 18-21. For the influence of Coleridge at this point, see E T E, I, 184.

93.16 the law of the diffraction of a ray...will illustrate...a new truth in ethics] See De Staël's Germany, ¶ 21.

95.14 a strict likeness between their noblest impulses and our own] Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶ 40.

100.15 The ancient Greeks called the world Κόσμος or Beauty] See 83.7.

100.17 as the mind of man rises...what is most real is most beautiful...perfect beauty and perfect goodness are One] See 117.29. Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶ 7.

100.21 that perfect beauty and perfect goodness are One] See 382.28.

101.13 "All particular beauties scattered up and down in nature, are only so far beautiful as they suggest...this entire circuit of harmonious proportions."] Extract from Karl Philipp Moritz's "Ueber die Bildende Nachahmung des Schönen," which Goethe copied into his Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt. For Emerson's original translation of the passage and for its significance for Nature, see E T E, I, 320-322.

102.5 Rien de beau que le vrai; nothing is beautiful but what is true] See E T E, I, 323. Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux's original utterance in L'Art Poétique (1674) was: "Rien n'est beau que le vrai," which Emerson correctly quoted in Works, IX, 406. That it was more or less vulgate doctrine in the eighteenth century is partly evidenced by the following passage in Charles M'Cormick's Memoirs of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, London, 1797, p. 339: "Yet, his 'Reflections [on the Revolution in France]' have been called beautiful. Never surely was any work so improperly characterised. Beautiful! No—no— 'Rien n'est beau que le vrai'—Nothing is beautiful but Truth. That epithet must not be applied to a tissue of falsehood and sophistry; however decorated with the splendors of artificial eloquence."

102.16 The walls of houses are transparent to the architect.] The word "transparent" had rich associations for Emerson at this period. See the index of E T E for parallels and symbolism. See also 110.23, 132.27, 215.12.

102.18 to the artist it belongs by a better knowledge of anatomy, and within anatomy, of life and thought, to acquire the power of true drawing.] Cf. "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, London (Library of Useful Knowledge), 1833, p. 57, for Michaelangelo's letter to a clergyman, ending as follows: "It is also certain, that the members of architecture have a reference to those of the human body; and he who does not understand the human figure, and particularly anatomy, can know nothing of the subject."

103.4 "The manly form cannot be comprehended merely through seeing its superficies. It must be stripped of the muscles, its parts separated, its joints observed, its differences known, its action and counteraction learned,—the hidden, the reposing, the foundation of the apparent, must be searched, if one would really see and imitate what moves as a beautiful inseparable Whole in living waves before the eye." Not located. It does not appear in the Italiänische Reise, though that work has many references to the manly form, the study of anatomy, and the formation of muscles. See passages under the following dates: Jan. 20, Aug. 23, Sept. 15, 1787; Jan. 10, Mar. 15, and April 11, 1788.

103.27 the effect of reflexion to disclose...a closer analogy between the finite form [the human body] and the infinite inhabitant] Emerson had in mind Coleridge's meaning of "reflection" in the Aids (1829). Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21 et passim.

103.32 tendency which the religion of every country has betrayed towards anthropomorphism] Cf. 104.3 and note on 80.27.

104.3 involuntary reverence to...beauty in human clay.] Cf. 103.32.

104.13 Seeing these works [of Phidias, Michael Angelo and Canova] true to human nature and yet superhuman] Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶ 21.

104.14 "we feel that we are greater than we know."] See note on 383.27.

106.32 constructed a moveable platform to rest and roll upon the floor] Cf. "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 24, where Bramante rather than San Gallo is mentioned: "Finding the scaffolding erected by Bramante unsuited to his object, he invented one of a superior construction ...probably the same admirable piece of machinery which is now used at Rome whenever there is occasion for scaffolding to repair or construct the interior of public buildings."

107.1 He gave this model to a carpenter] See "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 24: "He gave this invention to the poor carpenter who was employed to construct it, and who, by the profits derived from it, was enabled to raise a marriage portion for his two daughters."

107.13 The midnight battles, the forced marches, the winter campaigns of Julius Caesar or Charles XII] Emerson had read the De Bello Gallico in his childhood; he had read Voltaire's The History of Charles XII, King of Sweden as early as 1824. See Emerson's Early Reading List: 1819-1824, N.Y., 1951, pp. 8 and 12.

107.21 A little bread and wine was all his nourishment] Cf. "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 55: "A little bread and wine was all he required for the chief part of the day when employed at his work. Very frequently he rose in the middle of the night and resumed the labours of the day. When he did this, it was his practice to fix the candle on the summit of a pasteboard cap which he wore, in order that he might not interrupt the light by his hands. He would often also sleep in his clothes, that he might be ready to proceed to work as soon as he rose, and sometimes would do so from having wearied himself too much to undress."

107.33 the hands work whilst the eye judges] See note on 40.20.

108.27 the great series of the Prophets and Sibyls] See note on 153.21.

108.36 cartoon of the soldiers coming out of the bath...War of Pisa] See the quotation from Benvenuto Cellini in "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, pp. 20-21 (including a print of the cartoon): "The different attitudes of the soldiers suddenly preparing for battle, are so admirably expressed, that no work, either of the ancients or moderns, has attained such excellence." (Based on a translation by Thomas Roscoe.)

109.28 Raphael said, "I bless God I live in the times of Michael Angelo."] From a letter written by Sir Thomas Lawrence from Rome, published in D. E. Williams, The Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Lawrence, (2 vols.) London, 1831: "I passed my morning, for some hours, in the Sistine Chapel and the Vatican; and procured an order to admit me to go round the top of the chapel in the narrow gallery; I thus saw the noble work with closer inspection, and therefore more advantage. With all your love of Raphael, you must and shall believe in the superiority of that greater being, of whom, in grateful, virtuous sincerity, your painter himself said, 'I bless God I live in the times of Michael Angelo.'" Quoted in "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 40.

109.30 "I feel a self congratulation in knowing myself capable of such sensations as he intended to excite."] Quoted from Sir Joshua Reynolds's Discourses in "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 39.

110.1 "He alone...an artist whose hands can execute perfectly what his mind has conceived."] See 152.33. This is a variation of Sir Joshua Reynolds's statement in his Discourses quoted in "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" (Lives of Eminent Persons), p. 38: "He that is sure of his ship and tackle, puts out fearlessly from the shore; and he who knows that his hand can execute whatever his fancy can suggest, sports with more freedom in embodying the visionary forms of his own creation." Emerson wrongly assumes that it is Michael Angelo's statement.

110.23 To him of all men it was transparent.] For "transparency" in Emerson, see note on 102.16.

110.26 external grace as "the frail and weary weed in which God dresses the soul which he has called into Time."] This, of course, is Platonic. Cf. Edmund Spenser's "An Hymne in Honour of Beautie," lines 127ff.

111.6 Let him reform the world and...the pictures will reform themselves] Cf. "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 47.

111.15 Michael replied, "In those days gold was not worn...."] Cf. "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 25: "No, holy father, those who are represented in these designs were simple men, and wore neither gold nor silver, they were poor but holy, despising all worldly riches."

111.25 His heroic stipulation with the Pope was worthy of the man and his work.] See "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 44: "It is not the least remarkable circumstance in the history of this great man, as it is certainly one most highly honourable to his character, that the first stipulation he made in yielding to the commands of his patron was, that he should be allowed to accept the appointment without any salary, and that it should be stated in the brief that he undertook the work from a principle of religious devotion. The other conditions which he insisted upon were as strikingly illustrative of his firmness, and of the caution with which he set about so important an undertaking, as the one just mentioned was of his disinterestedness and piety. Among these were a permission to discharge all the officers or workmen employed about the building who were neglectful of their proper business; and, above all, that he should have authority to change as much as he chose, or even entirely put aside the plans of San Gallo."

111.32 the ancient Persian when importuned to demand some compensation from the empire] See Herodotus, tr. William Beloe, (3 vols.) London, 1830, II, pp. 75-76: "When Otanes saw his desire to establish an equality in Persia rejected, he spoke thus: 'As it seems determined that Persia shall be governed by one person, whether chosen among ourselves by lot, or by the suffrages of the people, or by some other method, you shall have no opposition from me: I am equally averse to govern or obey. I therefore yield, on condition that no one of you shall ever reign over me, or any of my posterity.' The rest of the conspirators assenting to this, he made no further opposition, but retired from the assembly. At the present period this is the only family in Persia which retains its liberty, for all that is required of them is not to transgress the laws of their country." [Book III, section lxxxiii]. Emerson owned the Beloe translation in a three-volume set published in London in 1830, comprising volumes V, VI and VII of the Family Classical Library.

112.3 When the Pope...sent him one hundred crowns of gold as one month's wages] See "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 68: "The Pope, notwithstanding, sent him once a hundred crowns of gold by Messer Pier Giovanni, the Bishop of Forli, then the chamberlain of his holiness, as his salary for a month, on account of the fabric; but Michael Angelo refused them, saying that he had made a different agreement, and he sent them back. The Pope was angry; but Michael Angelo was not to be moved from his resolution."

112.25 At whose coming did high heaven expand....] Emerson here quotes the last part of the second of Michael Angelo's two sonnets on Dante, modifying his source. See Richard Duppa, The Life of Michel Angelo Buonarroti, (2nd ed.) London, 1807, p. 166:

How shall we speak of him, for our blind eyes
Are all unequal to his dazzling rays?
Easier it is to blame his enemies
Than for the tongue to tell his lightest praise.
For us did he explore the realms of woe;
And at his coming did high Heaven expand

Her lofty gates, to whom his native land
Refus'd to open hers. Yet shalt thou know,
Ungrateful city, in thine own despite,
That thou hast fostered best thy Dantè's fame;
For virtue when oppressed appears more bright,
And brighter therefore shall his glory be,
Suffering of all mankind most wrongfully,
Since in the world there lives no greater name?

113.8 since truly peace is only to be found in the woods] Because of its pertinence to Nature (1836), 12.14—14.5, I give at length a passage from [Signor Radici's] "Poems of Michel Angelo Buonarroti" [A review of the Rime, Firenze, 1726], Retrospective Review, XIII, part ii (1826), pp. 248-265, esp. p. 257: "And Buonarroti, whose mind was tempered of the same elements as that of his sublime master [Dante], shews that this infamous vulgar always was, and always will be, the scourge of generous minds, and in many places reproaches it .... And, truly, lofty spirits have never known how to support either the scoffs or the restraints of the malignant and ceremonious multitude, who, offended by their greatness, try to fetter and to deride them, calling those actions which their grovelling minds cannot only not admire, but cannot even understand,—madness. Wherefore, to preserve their independence, they fly, as much as possible, to the stillness of solitude, where they may freely nourish that instinct from above which constitutes genius. Petrarch wished 'that his tears should flow alone;'—and Buonarroti coveted 'untrodden and lonely ways:' and in a letter to Vasari he writes thus: 'I have had great fatigue and yet great pleasure in visiting those hermits in the mountains of Spoleti, so that but half of me is returned to Rome; since, truly, peace is only to be found in the woods.' But for what cause is it that the most rare and lofty spirits cannot accustom themselves to the tedious business of life, and that it seems as if the sentence of infelicity was always impressed upon their existence? Is it that, feeling within themselves a more active spark of the divine nature, they have an irresistible desire after a more serene abode, and cannot breathe in the thick air of this nether world[?]" The complete letter to Giorgio Vasari appears in "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti" in Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 62. Giambattista Biagioli's edition of the Rime de Michelangelo Buonarroti il Vecchio was published at Parigi, 1831. See Journals, III, 252.

114.10 Bramante...laid the first stone of St. Peter's clear, insulated, luminous] See the letter to Messer Bartolommeo [?Ammanati], edited in "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti," loc. cit., pp. 62-63: "It cannot be denied that Bramante was as excellent in architecture as any other man of ancient or modern times. He laid the first stone of St. Peter; not full of confusion, but clear, plain, luminous, and insulated all around, so that it was no prejudice to the rest of the place, and was held as a beautiful thing, as it is still manifest: so much so, that whoever has departed from the said order of Bramante, as Sangallo [Antonio San Gallo] did, has departed from perfection...."

114.23 [Michael Angelo] had the philosophy to say, "Only an inventor can use the inventions of others." Cf. 285.20. Source not determined. See Journals, III, 413: "Only an inventor that knows how to borrow." For Emerson's rephrasing (without mentioning Michael Angelo), see "Quotation and Originality," Letters and Social Aims (Works, VIII, p. 204): "Only an inventor knows how to borrow, and every man is or should be an inventor."

115.2 He was deeply in love with...Vittoria Colonna] For background of Michael Angelo's platonic love affair, see "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti," loc. cit., pp. 57-58: "The object of his muse was one entirely worthy of the worship of so great a man: Vittoria Colonna was the wife of the illustrious Marquis of Pescara, who died of the wounds he received at the battle of Pavia. At the time when the princes of Italy, in great alarm, sought to lead Pescara from his fidelity to the Spanish cause, she wrote to her husband, 'Remember your honour, which raises you above fortune and above kings; by that alone, and not by the splendour of titles, is glory acquired; that glory which it will be your happiness and pride to transmit unspotted to your posterity.' After the

death of her husband, she betook herself to solitude, that she might lament his loss and celebrate his exploits. Young, and of consummate beauty both of mind and person, she uniformly refused to accept a second husband, though sought in marriage by persons of high distinction. She devoted herself to poetry, and so general was her fame throughout Italy, that Ariosto inscribed several of his verses to her. But her peculiar merit as a poet was, that in an age of immorality and grossness, she was the first who consecrated her lyre to subjects of piety unmixed with other matters."

115.9 They [his sonnets] are founded on the thought that Beauty is the Virtue of the body as Virtue is the beauty of the soul] For interesting background see "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti," loc. cit., p. 58: "The Italian poets of the time amused the multitude, and were admired by them because they made their poetry subservient to levity and gross representations. Michael Angelo, however, did not follow their example, but trod in the path of Dante and Petrarch, his great masters. The platonic notions relating to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, entirely imbued the minds of the masters of this school, at the time when the fine arts and poetry came forth out of the deep darkness which had shrouded them. It was the object of these men to draw love from the slavery of the senses, and to place it under the guidance of reason; not representing its exterior acts and sensible enjoyments, but delineating that which arises in the minds of the good alone, when this, like other affections and passions, is purified and made conformable with virtue."

115.32 "He utters things; ye utter words." See note on 131.13; cf. 303.23.

116.19 we ought not to show that joy when a child is born which should be reserved for the death of one who has lived well] Signor Radici, loc. cit., p. 261, makes these words a rebuke to Michaelangelo's nephew, Leonardo. They were actually addressed to Giorgio Vasari in a letter from Rome, edited in "The Life of Michael Angelo Buonaroti," loc. cit., p. 61.

117.21 Three significant garlands are sculptured on the tomb. They should be four but that his countrymen feared their own partiality.] See Richard Duppa, The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti, (2nd ed.) London, 1807, pp. 156-157: "In this church [Santa Croce] a monument was afterwards erected to him, and his Bust placed on a Sarcophagus. Beneath, are three statues personifying Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture.... In Catholic countries, to honour kings and heroes, it is usual to raise a temporary mausoleum decorated with trophies or ensigns of royalty and power: but as the celebrity of Michel Angelo was derived from a different source, the genius of Painting, of Sculpture, and Architecture, characterising his intellectual pre-eminence, were the fit objects to compose and ornament his cenotaph, and with this view the Painters and Sculptors employed themselves in designing and executing appropriate works." The fourth garland would have been given for his poetry, which came to be valued after his own day.

117.29 the beauty that beams in universal nature...its source...Perfect Goodness] Cf. note on 100.17.

119.2 he assumed and kept the erect position of a man] For the imagery of erectness, see the following references: 138.8, 149.7, 151.3, 315.25, 321.12, 385.23. Emerson here is possibly indebted to Coleridge. See Aids to Reflection (1829), p. 72: "All things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving. And shall man alone stoop? Shall his pursuits and desires, the reflections of his inward life, be like the reflected Image of a Tree on the edge of a Pool, that grows downward, and seeks a mock heaven in the unstable element beneath it ...! Well saith the moral Poet [Samuel Daniel]—

Unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how mean a thing is man!

See the quotation from The Friend in E T E, I, 95. See also C. A. Patrides, "Renaissance Ideas on Man's Upright Form," Journal of the History of Ideas, XIX (1958), pp. 256-258.

119.6 talents...which are common to all men] See John von Müller, Universal History, (4 vols.) Boston, 1831-1832, III, p. 182: "This man, who was possessed of sound intellect and of courage, but neither of extraordinary learning nor of cultivated taste; without the aid of any other power than that of common sense exerted on many important subjects, and that of truth wherever he attacked abuses; by his heroism alone, imparted to half of Europe a new soul; created an opposition which became the safeguard of freedom.... There is nothing in history more deserving of consideration, than the spectacle of an individual or a small state, contending victoriously, by such means only as are within the reach of all, against all the gifts of fortune and all the terrors of power."

119.12 A simple honest man arises and accomplishes wonders] See Journals, III, 432-433, for a reference to the simplicity of Luther. As a religious "enthusiast" he perceived "the worthlessness of all instruction, and the infinity of wisdom...from meditation...the nullity of all conditions but one, innocence; the absolute submission which attends it. All becomes simple, plain in word and act." See the Swedenborgian view that true genius is reception from God in the note on 143.3. See also 141.35ff, 161.26, 229.16, and 259.26.

119.24 not my design to enumerate in detail the incidents of his life, but form...a conception of the peculiar genius of the man] Compare his intention here with that of his Bowdoin Prize dissertation on "The Character of Socrates" (1820): "We shall proceed to examine the character of the philosopher, after premising that we do not intend to give the detail of his life...we shall direct our attention to a consideration of the leading features of his mind...to a few of his moral excellences...his character." (Lines 208-220).

120.8 A venerable monk of his order...the conviction that "justification was of grace by faith."] See, inter alia, John Scott, Luther, and the Lutheran Reformation, (2 vols.) N.Y., 1833, I, 29: "This same year he was refreshed in his sickness by the discourse of an old monk, who showed him that remission of sins was to be apprehended by faith alone, and referred him to a passage in Bernard's sermon on the annunciation, where the same doctrine was taught."

121.17 that surplus is for sale in the Pope's hands] See John Scott, op. cit., I, 17: "The foundation of all this system was generally believed to be this:—There was supposed to be an infinite treasure of merit in Christ and the saints, which was abundantly more than sufficient for themselves. Thus, what is strictly true of the Divine Saviour was asserted also of saints—that they had done works of supererogation. This treasure was said to be deposited in the church, under the conduct of the see of Rome; and was sold...at that see's discretion, to those who were able and willing to pay for it: and few were found willing to undergo the course of a severe penance of unpleasant austerities when they could afford to commute it for pecuniary payments."

121.34 Samson...entertained the astonished audience...sounds...soul emits... ransom being paid...out of purgatory] See a work in Emerson's private library: John von Müller, Universal History, (4 vols.) Boston (Am. Lib. of Useful Knowledge), 1831-1832, III, 187: "Tetzel, one of the preachers of these indulgences, as if with the design of making the scandal as striking as possible, taught openly, that for every species of crime, of whatsoever denomination, absolution might be purchased by money. However strange these doctrines might sound in the German university of Wittenberg, the sober Swiss were not less shocked by the juggles of Samson, another of the sellers of indulgences, who, in his public preachings, imitated the sound which the soul emits, while, at the moment when its ransom is paid, it flies up out of the flames of purgatory."

122.33 He refused to grant absolution to such as presented Tetzel's certificates.] See Scott, op. cit., I, 25: "In the memorable year 1517, it happened that certain persons, repeating their confessions before him, and owning themselves to be atrocious offenders, yet refused to comply with the penances which he enjoined them, because they possessed diplomas of indulgence. Luther... ventured to refuse them absolution. The persons thus rejected complained loudly to Tetzel, who was preaching in a town at no great distance." Before becom-

ing effective, most indulgences required that the beneficiary be penitent and "confessed."

123.18 But revolutions never go backward] This proverb is probably not original with Emerson. It reappeared among his countrymen on the eve of the Civil War. See William Henry Seward's "Speech: The Irrepressible Confict," October, 1858: "I know and all the world knows, that revolutions never go backwards." See Wendell Phillips' "Speech: Progress," dated Feb. 17, 1861: "Revolutions never go backward." For Emerson on revolutions, see the indexes of his Works and Journals.

123.22 "Luther had touched the Pope on the crown, and the monks on the belly."] Scott twice refers to this. See op. cit., I, 104, but also I, 38, which explains the allusion: "'The cause of Luther is invidious, because he at once attacks the bellies of the monks and the diadem of the pope'—the emoluments of the one and the power of the other."

123.25 But his help lay in himself] Luther's type of "self-reliance" is described in terms of will. See 124.4 and 136.24. For full significance of the terminology, see the chapter, "Coleridge as Key to Nature," E T E, I, 200-223.

123.28 His words Richter called, "half battles"] Carlyle in several places refers to this metaphor. The Editors cite Carlyle's "Richter Again" and "Luther's Psalm." See also his "Goethe's Works," Foreign Quarterly Review, X, no. 19 (Aug., 1832), 1-44, esp. p. 31: "For two centuries, German literature had lain in the sere leaf. The Luther, "whose words were half battles," and such half battles as could shake and overset half Europe with their cannonading, had long since gone to sleep...."

124.4 Never...did the human Will clothe itself in more fit expression] See note on 123.25. Cf. 136.24ff.

124.12 Luther...outside the walls of Wittemberg...burned the Bull.] See Scott, op. cit., I, 109: "He determined therefore to separate himself from the communion of the church of Rome; and as Leo, in the execution of the bull, had appointed Luther's books to be burned, he, by way of retaliation, erected an immense pile of wood without the walls of Wittemberg, and there, in the presence of the professors and students of the university, and of a vast multitude of spectators, committed to the flames the papal bull against him, together with the volumes of the decretals and canon law which relate to the pontifical jurisdiction.

126.6 waylaid and carried prisoner to...Eisenach] See Scott, op. cit., I, 138.

126.12 The care of all the Churches rested on him] See 2 Cor. 11:28——"Beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches." (St. Paul).

126.14 When the protestant martyrs were burned at Brussels Luther composed a hymn] See Journals, III, 351: "Transcribe from Quarterly Review [LII, no. 103 (Aug., 1834)] the sentences [by Coleridge] on the progressive influence of the man of genius. If you kill them, I will write a hymn to their memory that shall sing itself, might Luther say." For full significance, see Cameron's "Coleridge and the Genesis of Emerson's 'Uriel,'" P Q, XXX, no. 2 (April, 1951), 212-217, esp. p. 214. See also a passage in "Milton" at 148.28. See Scott, op. cit., I, 213. The three men were Henry Voes, John Esch and a person named Lambert. "Luther, in memory of these faithful servants of God, composed a Latin hymn, which has been much used in the Protestant churches."

127.14 in 1530 he drew up the Articles of the Confession of Augsburg] For a full discussion of the Diet of Augsburg and the famous "Confession," see Scott, op. cit., II, 7-41.

127.18 revolution by spiritual arms alone] See note on 143.3.

127.31 calling in the aid of flesh and blood] See Matt. 16:17.

128.8 And the Lord does this Without Hand] A quotation from Scott, op. cit., I, 59; see also Luther's remark in I, 177: "The kingdom of Antichrist, according to the prophet Daniel's prediction, must be broken 'WITHOUT HAND:' that is, the Scriptures will be understood by-and-by, and every one will speak and preach against the papal tyranny from the Word of God: until this 'MAN OF SIN' is deserted by all his adherents, and dies of himself. This is the true Christian way of destroying him; and to promote this end we ought to exert our utmost power, encounter every danger, and undergo every loss and inconvenience."

129.10 the Images will fall of themselves] Cf. the story of the Ark of the Covenant in the temple of Dagon——1 Samuel 5-6.

129.20 Preach thou, and I will give thee strength.] The Biblical allusions implicit here are God's words to St. Paul at the time of his complaining against the "thorn in the flesh," 2 Cor. 12:9, and God's reassurance of Jeremiah: Jeremiah 1:9, 5:14.

129.31 Samson-like] For Samson's victory over the Philistines at Gaza—his destruction of the temple of Dagon—see Judges 16:21-30.

131.11 an age...when imitation is reckoned as good as nature] For other references to the spiritual evil of imitation, see 74.31ff. and 142.23ff.

131.13 book full of words...not discerned from a book full of things] For the importance of this distinction, see Sampson Reed's comments: Only "when the heart is purified from every selfish and worldly passion" do "words make one with things." (Oration on Genius). "There is a language, not of words but of things. When this language shall have been made apparent, that which is human will have answered its end, and being as it were resolved into its original elements, will lose itself in nature.... Let a man's language be confined to the expression of that which actually belongs to his own mind." (Observations on the Growth of the Mind). See E T E, I, 260, 278, 289-291, 416; II, 22. Cf. Journals, II, 401; III, 492; Nature (1836), 39.2. On the related Swedenborgian Doctrine of Correspondences, see E T E, index. The influence of the New Church or Church of the New Jerusalem appears in the unpublished sermon, "Words are Things," dated Nov. 6, 1831. See below 115.32; 174.35; 303.23.

131.14 so literature degenerates...losing all sterling value] The allusion is to Shakespeare's Richard II, IV,i,265-267:

> An if my word be sterling yet in England,
> Let it command a mirror hither straight,
> That it may show me what a face I have.

See E T E, I, 390.

131.18 such extraordinary effects...he was not a philosopher...Aristotle's logic had...not extended his views...no fitness to receive scientific truths.... His reform is directed at the corruptions of the Roman Church] In this paragraph, Emerson remembered Dugald Stewart's Philosophical Essays, Edinburgh, 1810, lxxi-lxxii: "I have only to repeat once more...that the correction of one single prejudice has often been attended with consequences more important and extensive than could be produced by any positive accession to the stock of our scientific information. Such is the condition of man, that a great part of a philosopher's life must necessarily be spent, not in enlarging the circle of his knowledge, but in unlearning the errors of the crowd, and the pretended wisdom of the schools; and that the most substantial benefit he can bestow on his fellow-creatures, as well as the noblest species of POWER to which he can aspire, is to impart to others the lights he has struck out by his meditations, and to encourage human reason, by his example, to assert its liberty. To what did the discoveries made by Luther amount, but to a detection of the impostures of the Romish church, and of absurdities sanctioned by the authority of Aristotle? Yet,

how vast the space which is filled by his name in the subsequent history of Europe! and how proud his rank among the benefactors of mankind! I am doubtful if Bacon himself did so much by the logical rules he gave for guiding the inquiries of his followers, as by the resolution with which he inspired them to abandon the beaten path of their predecessors, and to make excursions into regions untrodden before...." This quotation also appears in Francis Jeffrey, "Stewart's Philosophical Essays," Edinburgh Review, XVII, no. 33 (Nov., 1810), pp. 167-211; see esp. p. 187.

131.26 Nay his theology is Jewish] Emerson here criticizes Luther for holding to the Jewish-Christian messianic mythology or credalism, and for his Biblical literalism. Transcendentalism saw in Jesus no more of deity than dwells in every man. Cf. his treatment of Jesus in Nature (1836) and in the "Divinity School Address."

132.1 In his controversy with Zuinglius he was wholly in the wrong] That Emerson felt justified in making such a strong value judgment at this point in a public address may indicate his assumption that his audience was predominantly Unitarian. He here opposes Luther's views on the Lord's Supper in favor of Zwingli's, which were close to his own. Among his listeners in Boston, of course, orthodox Christians would have favored Luther.

132.13 he saw the impulse and the God through the medium of the Bible alone] See John von Müller, Universal History, ed. cit., III, 190: "The peculiar character of the work which he performed, was however, like all good religious institutions, negative: he taught nothing essentially new.... But he destroyed a great portion of the strange garb in which truth had been, in darker ages, enveloped, if not totally hidden. What he suffered to remain, because the newly-opened eye was as yet too weak to endure the full splendor of the day, he left to the labors of later and more mature ages. The Bible, of which he made an excellent translation, was the foundation and support of his whole system."

132.22 Luther was a Poet but not in the literary sense.] See Coleridge, The Friend, quoted in E T E, I, 102: "He was a poet indeed, as great a poet as ever lived in any age or country.... Luther did not write, he acted poems." See the end of this lecture (143.11): "And so this enraged Poet, who did not write his visions in sonnets, but believed them, spoke them, and acted them, persuaded vast multitudes...."

132.27 All objects, all events are transparent.] For "transparency" in Emerson, see note on 102.16.

132.30 The love and the hatred...transform every object into similitudes and types] Emerson is here explaining in what sense Luther was a poet. Cf. 132.22 with 143.11: "...this enraged Poet who did not write his visions in sonnets, but believed them, spoke them, and acted them...."

133.8 "I am a bitter enemy to flies, quia sunt imago Diaboli et Hereticorum] The devil or "Beelzebub" in Hebrew is "Lord of Flies."

134.4 God as the Pure Reason...the faith dear to philosophic minds] For Coleridge's distinction between the Reason and the Understanding—which, with overtones of Kant's Kritik der Reinen Vernunft is chiefly intended here—see E T E, I, 201-204 et passim.

134.15 "God had been received a burgher of Berne."] See Louis Simond, Switzerland; or A Journal of a Tour and Residence in that Country (1817-1819), (2 vols.) Boston, 1822, II, 91. Emerson had borrowed vol. II from the Boston Library Society from January 9 to 16, 1823. (See E T E, II, 160 and 183.)

134.21 God is in Luther's mind a Genius or local and partial tutelary Daemon] See note on 21.14.

134.32 the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her] See Matt. 16:18.

135.1 Jeremy...curses the day of his birth] See Jeremiah 15:10——"Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth." Jeremiah 20:14-15——"Cursed be the day wherein I was born: let not the day wherein my mother bare me be blessed. Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father...." For Job's similar cursing, see Job 3:1-26.

135.35 the Devil cannot bear contempt] Cf. James 4:7——"Resist the devil, and he will flee from you."

136.3 we sing in the church 'Et homo factus est; Et verbum caro factum est.] At every major celebration of the Mass or Eucharist in traditional churches, the Nicene Creed is sung or recited, a genuflection occurring at the words, ET HOMO FACTUS EST. At the end of the Mass, the "Last Gospel" (John 1:1-14) is recited, a genuflection occurring at the words of the Vulgate (verse 14): ET VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST. Both phrases refer to the Incarnation of Jesus Christ and are marked in most liturgies with special honor. For obvious reasons, the devil likes not at all the **Agent of man's redemption.** See note on 378.1.

136.18 He called his prison, Patmos.] See Scott, op. cit., I, 143: "The papists never charge our reformer with indolence. On the contrary, they allow that in his solitude, which after the name of that island to which the apostle John was banished, he frequently calls his PATMOS, he laboured with indefatigable industry...." "Patmos" is cited several times in Scott on the following pages. See Revelation 1:9.

136.19 a strict parallelism between the historical position of St. Paul and his own] In the Epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul was aggressively defending himself against the charges of the Jerusalem Church, more especially of "The Twelve," who considered him as promulgating an inferior type of Christianity—a weakened or "reductionist" form—for the gentiles.

136.24 indomitable Will...a more commanding attitude...a more perfect self-reliance] See note on 123.25. Cf. 124.4. For other early foreshadowings of his essay on "Self-Reliance" see 76.11ff.; Journals, II, 249, 309-311; E T E, indexes. Coleridge, of course, quickened his thinking on this theme. So did Madame De Staël's Germany.

136.27 a Will on which a nation might lean, not liable to sudden sallies or swoons] Emerson might have been thinking of the weeping and often fearful prophet Jeremiah already mentioned in this lecture at 135.1-3 and 137.32.

137.22 "Let Behemoth rage." See note on 35.5. Cf. Psalm 2:1 and Job 40:11, 15.

137.23 withdraw no more into a corner] See Isaiah 30:20——"And though the Lord give you the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers."

137.24 Long afterwards he...remembered his early daring with the belief that it was inspired.] See Scott, op. cit., I, 127: "Luther is said to have mentioned the circumstance [Early Lectures, 125.7-10] a little before his death, and to have made this observation: 'So fearless can God render a man: I do not know whether at this day I should be so bold.'"

137.32 Moses and Jeremy...complain that they were deceived] Cf. Exodus 5:6——"And Moses...said, Lord, wherefore hast thou so evil entreated this people? why is it that thou hast sent me?" Jeremiah 20:7——"O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed: I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me."

138.4 A man of his...excessive Imagination is in danger of insanity] Cf. 296.28.

138.4 this Enthusiasm...a Mohammedan fanaticism] Cf. 139.33. Emerson knew either through reviews or by reading the books themselves: Isaac Taylor's Fanaticism (London, 1833) and his Natural History of Enthusiasm (4th ed., London, 1830; 6th ed., London, 1832; 7th ed., London, 1834). These explain his standard for judging Luther's emotional balance and sanity.

138.8 the image of a simple erect Man] See note on 119.2.

138.9 a sort of Adam, one of that class of standard men...unsophisticated humanity] For other references to "Universal Man" or "Standard Man" in the Early Lectures, see 165.6; 226.12; 272.16; 304.13; 321.19; 326.4. For the influence of Plato's Ideal Man and Swedenborg's "Standard Man" upon Emerson, see E T E, I, 374-379. See Journals, III, 249, on Luther as "Standard Man." See above, note on 6.6. References to the "constant mind of man" appear at 186.15 and 212.27. On Emerson's sharing the nineteenth-century Adamic myth, see R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century, Chicago, 1955, index. Carlyle uses the phrase, 'a clear and universal Man,' to describe Goethe in two of his early essays: "Goethe," Foreign Review, II, no. 3 (July, 1828), pp. 80-127; "Goethe's Works," Foreign Quarterly Review, X, no. 19 (Aug., 1832), pp. 1-44, esp. p. 42.

138.33 "I must have patience...."] Emerson carefully avoids a discussion of Luther's view of Man, though Madame De Staël had supplied him with a picturesque example which he would have employed, doubtless, if he had been dealing with so controversial a subject. (It would, of course, have involved him in Lutheran theology—a subject which he undoubtedly wished to avoid in a public lecture.) See Germany, ed. cit., III, 14: "'The human mind,' says Luther, 'is like a drunken peasant on horseback; when we put it up on one side, it falls down on the other.'—Thus man has incessantly fluctuated between his two natures; sometimes his thoughts have disentangled him from his sensations; sometimes his sensations have absorbed his thoughts, and he has wished, successively, to refer every thing to one or the other...."

139.33 a religious reformer so prone to fanaticism] See note on 138.4.

141.8 his own polemical bitterness. "I was born to fight with devils and factions."] Luther here identifies himself with Jeremiah. See note on 135.1.

141.10 It is my business...to open and make straight the paths] An allusion to John the Baptist's preaching as forerunner of Jesus. Cf. Matt. 3:3——"For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." Cf. Isaiah 40:3; Mark 1:3; Luke 3:4.

141.35 advantage...the simple sincere man possesses over the defective or half man] See note on 119.12. On the "half man," see E T E, I, 315, which quotes from Victor Cousin's Introduction to the History of Philosophy, Boston, 1832, p. 199. See Journals, II, 435; III, 409 and 438. See note on 6.6 above.

142.23 Society...so imitative and artificial] See 74.31ff. and note on 131.11.

142.27 half that a man does, is for example] On the evils associated with "setting a good example" Emerson drew upon Coleridge's The Friend. See E T E, I, 103-105, and articles by the New England Swedenborgians. E.g., see Nathaniel Hobart, "Example," New Jerusalem Magazine, III (1829-1830), pp. 8-11. (Cf. E T E, I, 242). See Journals, III, 375: "George Fox and Emanuel Swedenborg never advise people to go to church for the sake of example." See Emerson's unpublished sermon, "Setting a Good Example" (Houghton 217), dated June 17, 1827, and preached thirteen times.

142.31 hit or miss, please or sting] The background of this New England variant of an old proverbial phrase is in Burton Stevenson, The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases, N.Y., 1948, p. 1146.

143.3 His means being strictly spiritual...taking his stand in the Invisible world as his base....] See 127.18 and 259.26. Sampson Reed's "Oration on Genius" (1821) is the best commentary on Emerson's concluding paragraph. Reed defined true genius as reception from the Spiritual World and mentioned Luther, Shakespeare, Milton and Newton as examples who drew upon divine truth and stood "with the bright side toward us." See E T E, I, 277. Cf. the language at the conclusion of "Shakspear (1)"——303.34. Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 26-34; 54-57; 60-63.

143.11 this enraged Poet, who did not write his visions] See 132.22 and 132.30.

145.15 literary journals were filled with disquisitions on his genius] The most important of these discussions read by Emerson was: Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Milton," Edinburgh Review, XLII, no. 84 (Aug., 1825), pp. 304-346, to which this introductory paragraph seems to refer. The remainder of his lecture shows no indebtedness. It remains to be determined whether Emerson failed to reread Macaulay before writing his address or disagreed with the Englishman's theses and distinctions so much that he failed to profit by them. See note on 22.1.

146.15 several masterly speeches in the history of the American Congress] He certainly recalled, among others, the speeches of John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster. See Journals, III, 308, 455, 471, 565-566. He may in part refer to the vigorous style of the Federalist: [Essays] on the new Constitution, [by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison], (2 vols.) N.Y., 1810; (2 vols.) Phila., 1818—which he borrowed from the Boston Athenaeum in 1832.

147.24 Melancthon's writings, "alive, hath hands and feet...Erasmus's sentences...made, not grown."] See Luther's Colloquia Mensalia: or, Divine Discourses at his Table, London, 1652, p. 510: "Anno 1536, Luther wrote upon his table these words following. Res & verba Philippus; verba sine re Erasmus; res sine verbis Lutherus; nec res, nec verba Carolostadius; that is, what Philip Melancthon writeth, the same hath hands and feet, the matter is good, and also the words are good; Erasmus Roterdamus maketh many words, but to no purpose; Luther hath good matter, but the words are not good; Carlstad hath neither good words nor good matter."

148.26 goes on for some ages reconciling the world unto itself] See 2 Cor. 5:19——"To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself...and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation."

148.28 opposition...always greatest at first decreases and at last ends] See note on 126.14.

148.36 Virtue goes out of him into others] See the account of the woman with the issue of blood: Mark 5:30——"And Jesus, immediately knowing in himself that virtue had gone out of him, turned...and said, Who touched my clothes?" Cf. Luke 8:46. See also Luke 6:19——"And the whole multitude sought to touch him: for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all."

149.6 Shakspeare is a voice merely] Among the loose notes which Emerson gathered in preparing the early lectures are the following headed: "C. C. Emersons opinion of Shakspear." These I quote with the permission of Edward W. Forbes, Esq. Cf. 161.19.

149.6 Shakspeare is a voice merely] Cf. 161.19 and 272.29. For this idea see Coleridge, Specimens of the Table Talk, (2 vols.) London, 1835, II, 298, and John G. Lockhart, "Coleridge's Table-Talk," Quarterly Review, LIII, no. 105 (Feb., 1835), pp. 79-103, esp. p. 85. From loose notes for the early lectures I select with permission the following headed: "C. C. Emersons opinion of Shakspear."

> Shakspear had in its perfection the poetic inspiration: applied himself without effort to the whole world, the sensible, the intelligent; into all beauty, into all suffering, into all action, all affection, he threw himself; & yet not himself, for he seems never committed in the plays—but his genius. His genius was thus omnific & all sympathizing. He seems to have sat above this hundred-handed play of his Imagination, pensive & conscious. He read the world off into sweetest verse as one reads a book. He in no way mixed himself the Individual with the scenes he drew, & so his

poetry was the very coinage of nature & life, the pregnant cloud disembodied itself, & meaning became expression.

In proportion as the prophet sees things from a personal point of view & speaks under the influence of any temperament, interest, or prepossession, his eye is not clear, his voice is husky,—the oracle Philippizes.* The perfect inspiration is that which utters the beauty & truth seen pure & unconfused as they lie in the lap of the divine order. Shakspear was the inspired Tongue of humanity. He was priest at the altar not of the Celestials but of mortals. His kingdom was of this world, & the message he was sent to do, he delivered unembarrassed, disinterested, unimplicated. He gave voice to the finest, curiousest, boldest philosophical speculations; he chaunted the eternal laws of morals; but it was as they were facts in the consciousness, & so a part of humanity. He gives no pledge—breathes no prayer—& religion is mirrored no otherwise than Bawdry.

In his sonnets, we behold him appropriating his gifts to his own use, but never in the plays. Hamlet & Othello as he counted them—not his creatures, but self-subsistent, "too highborn to be propertied,"** so he tampers not with their individuality, nor obtrudes himself on us, as their prompter. If they lived, he lived.*** Dec 12 1835

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* See the Edinburgh Review, XXVII, 504: Ugo Foscolo's "Columbus."
** See King John, V,ii,79.
*** See the words of the soldier in Parliament's army quoted in Coleridge's The Friend—and the commentary in E T E, I, 106, ¶ 110. See 378.11 and 383.2.

149.7 Milton stands erect...still visible as a man among men] See note on 119.2.

149.8 reads the laws of the moral sentiment to the newborn race] Cf. 154.8 and 352.26. For "moral sentiment" and "moral sublime" see the index of E T E.

149.19 to raise the idea of Man] See 150.26; 326.13.

149.29 Bacon...shrinks and falters] Emerson's reservations concerning Bacon were imprinted early on his mind. Compare the ending of his dissertation on the "Character of Socrates" (1820): "When we consider how much this individual [Socrates] fulfilled of the great duty which every man owes to his fellowmen,—that of crowding into a little life the most extended benefit, and contributing the strength of his soul to the aggrandizement of the species,—we shall acknowledge that few men can cope with him. Lord Bacon, the foremost of those few, did not come up to his irreproachable character."

150.1 unworthy to touch his garment's hem] See Matthew 9:20-21 and 14:35-36.

150.7 In Germany, the great writers are still too recent] See De Staël's Germany, passim.

150.15 "he who would aspire to write...ought himself to be a true poem"] See 162.2 and 363.27.

150.26 this heroic image of man] See 149.19.

151.3 his gait erect and manly] See note on 119.2.

152.33 Michael Angelo calls "him alone an artist, whose hands can execute what his mind has conceived."] See note on 110.1.

153.21 this intellectual voice, penetrating through ages, and...forward through the coming world] Possible allusion to the essay, "Wherefore the Pythian Priestess Now Ceases to Deliver her Oracles in Verse," Plutarch's Morals: Translated from the Greek by Several Hands, (5th ed., 5 vols.), London, 1718, III, 104: "Whereas the Sybil with her frantick Grimaces, uttering Sentences altogether thoughtful and serious, neither fucus'd [sic] nor perfumed, continues

her Voice a Thousand Years by the Favour of the Deity that speaks within her." Cf. 108.27, 318.14, 349.21.

156.4 the prudence of the Roman soldier, not to stand breaking of legs] See John 19:31-33.

156.11 indifferency...to what is called high and low] See 157.4, 157.12, 160.8.

156.24 he who disdained not to be born in a manger] See Luke 2:7-16.

157.12 "love" which "esteems no office mean."] See note on 160.8.

158.12 "My mother bore me...a speaker of what God made mine own, and not a translator."] Found in "A Post-Script" to The Judgment of Martin Bucer Concerning Divorce, London, 1644. Emerson found it in The Prose Works of Milton, ed. Charles Symmons, (7 vols.) London, 1806, II, 109.

160.8 [Milton] thought nothing honest was low] See Milton's Pro Se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum Ecclesiasten, Londini, 1655. See The Prose Works, ed. Symmons, V, 270: "Unde ego, atque aliis aliundè monitis, quicquid sortis aut provinciae dederit modò Deus, multò licet priore angustius, atque tenuius, id non aspernari erudior." The Columbia edition of Milton (IX, 7) translates the passage as follows: "Hence I am taught, as likewise from lessons derived from other sources, not to despise any condition or any office that may be allotted me by God, however humble it may be, or however inferior to what I before enjoyed." See 156.11 and 157.12.

160.34 Bacon's imagination..."the noblest to minister to the understanding."] Possibly a condensation and reworking of the following: See Sir James Mackintosh, "Stewart's Introduction to the Encyclopaedia," Edinburgh Review, XXVII, no. 53 (Sept., 1816), pp. 180-244, esp. pp. 182-183: "This wideranging Intellect was illuminated by the brightest Fancy that ever contented itself with the office of only ministering to Reason: And from this singular relation of the two grand faculties of man, it has resulted, that his philosophy, though illustrated still more than adorned by the utmost splendour of imagery, continues still subject to the undivided supremacy of intellect. In the midst of all the prodigality of an imagination which, had it been independent, would have been poetical, his opinions remained severely rational.... His fancy gave him that power of illustrative metaphor, by which he seemed to have invented again the part of language which respects philosophy; and it rendered new truths more distinctly visible even to his own eye, in their bright clothing of imagery."

161.19 true of Homer and Shakspeare that they did not appear in their poems] See note on 149.6.

161.26 men...passive in their great service...channels through which streams of thought flowed from a higher source] For poetry or genius as "reception" see note on 119.12 and De Stael's Germany, ¶ 21.

162.2 delineation of the heroic life of man] See 150.15.

162.9 Their intrinsic beauty is their excuse for being] Emerson had read in Cudworth's True Intellectual System (1820), III, 282-285, that "eyes were made for seeing"—a basic Neoplatonic postulate. (See E T E, I, 62.) Carl F. Strauch, "The Year of Emerson's Poetic Maturity: 1834," P Q, XXXIV, no. 4 (Oct., 1955), pp. 353-377, gives background for "The Rhodora," which was composed a few months before the delivery of this lecture. The line, "Then Beauty is its own excuse for being," echoed here from the poem, ties the discussion of Shakespeare's creations to such natural creations as the flower. Cf. 24.3ff. and 78.24ff.

162.14 If out of the heart it came, to the heart it must go.] See 375.35 and 381.34. It echoes Coleridge's The Friend: "For it is an immutable truth,

that what comes from the heart, that alone goes to the heart; what proceeds from a divine impulse, that the godlike alone can awaken." See E T E, I, 125.

162.23 Bacon's definition of poetry, following...Aristotle, "Poetry...seeks to accommodate the shows of things to the desires of the mind, and to create an ideal world better than the world of experience." See 168.25ff., 260.15, 291.14, 346.35. See note on 166.16. See Kenneth W. Cameron, "Emerson, Thomas Campbell, and Bacon's Definition of Poetry," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 14 (I Quarter 1959), 48-56. See also "Poetry," Edinburgh Review, XLII, no. 83 (Apr., 1825), 31-64, esp. 35-36: "POETRY is a creation. It is a thing created by the mind, and not merely copied either from nature, or facts in any shape. Next to this general, but most correct and significant definition, if it can be so called, perhaps the best explanation is that given by Lord Bacon, where he says, that 'poetry doth raise and erect the mind, by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind;' though here, as in the rest of the discussion, we should ever bear in mind, that poetry, after all, is the effect, and not the cause. It does not properly alter 'the shows of things,' but transcribes from the imagination the new form that results from the alteration. Its after effect upon the reader is produced by this transcript, and he sees merely the new poetic creation, and receives its effects. Poetry, then, is to be understood as a thing 'different from prose,' which is its antithesis; that is to say, it is always something different from the literal prosaic fact, such as we contemplate it with the eye of sense or reason. However it may be true in itself (and it ought to be true), as a compound image or signification of consistent ideas, it must not be in all respects literally true. The materials of poetry, as we have said, are to be found in nature or art, but not poetry itself; for, if poetry were strewn before us like flowers, or if it irradiated the heavens like sunshine or the stars, we should have nothing to do but to copy it as exactly as we could; and it would then be a 'mimetic' art only, and not a 'creation.' Prose, according to our conception of it, is in substance the presentment of single and separate ideas, arranged for purposes of reasoning, instruction, or persuasion. It is the organ or vehicle of reason, and deals accordingly in realities, and spreads itself out in analysis and deduction—combining and disposing words, as figures are used by arithmeticians, to explain, or prove, or to produce some particular effect from established premises.... Poetry, on the other hand, is essentially complicated. It is produced by various powers common to most persons, but more especially by those which are almost peculiar to the poet, viz. Fancy, and the crowning spirit—Imagination! This last is the first moving or creative principle of the mind, which fashions, out of materials previously existing, new conceptions and original truths, not absolutely justifiable by the ordinary rules of logic, but quite intelligible to the mind when duly elevated —intelligible through our sympathies, our sensibility,—like light or the balmy air, although not sufficiently definite or settled into form to stand the cold calculating survey of our reason. It is not so much, however, that imagination sees things differently from reason, as that it uses them differently.... Nevertheless, poetry, though creative in its principle, comprehends not so much what is impossible, as what is at present unknown; and hence, perhaps, may be urged the claim of its followers to the title of 'Vates.' It is the harmony of the mind, in short, which embraces and reconciles its seeming discords. It looks not only at the husk and outward show of things, but contemplates them in their principles, and through their secret relations. It is brief and suggestive, rather than explicit and argumentative. Its words are like the breath of an oracle, which it is the business of prose to expound."

See The Spectator, No. 418 ("Paper VIII. On the Pleasures of the Imagination"): "Here, therefore, we must inquire after a new principle of pleasure, which is nothing else but the action of the mind, which compares the ideas that arise from words with the ideas that arise from objects themselves; and why this operation of the mind is attended with so much pleasure, we have before considered. For this reason, therefore, the description of a dunghill is pleasing to the imagination, if the image be represented to our minds by suitable expressions; though, perhaps, this may be more properly called the pleasure of the understanding than of the fancy, because we are not so much delighted with the image that is contained in the description, as with the aptness of the description to excite the image."

165.28 like that of the first man on the First Day] See the reference to dam in 384.20.

166.1 Religious sentiment...was father, mother, friends, house, and land] Cf. Matt. 12:47-50——"Then one said unto him, Behold thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. But he answered and said unto him ...Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? And he stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father...in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." Cf. Mark 3:31-35.

166.16 no object in nature which intensity of material light will not make beautiful] See 17.15, 384.13. Cf. notes on 162.33 and 327.8.

166.19 unexpected relations between the mind and those objects on which it falls...bring the Universe into the possession of the single soul] Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21. See 331.1 and note on 20.23.

166.30 Manco Capac in Peru] As early as 1816, the Emerson family appears to have read Jean François Marmontel, The Incas, or The Destruction of the Empire of Peru, (2 vols.) London, 1777. See E T E, II, 152 and 179.

167.4 It is still originated in new breasts] The little Swedenborgian group in Boston was one of Emerson's best examples. See E T E, I, 253-294, on "Samp-son Reed--'My Early Oracle'". See note on 174.18.

167.16 "God is our Father and all we are brethren."] It might have been said to the Indians by either John Eliot or William Penn. Something approaching the democracy of it appears in a reference to George Fox in George E. Ellis, "Life of William Penn," Library of American Biography, ed. Jared Sparks, 2 Ser. XII (Boston, 1846), pp. 193-407, esp. 223-224: "The first revelation made to him was, that all who were born of God were believers...and that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ."

167.23 "How is he greater...if he is not more just"] See Plutarch's Morals, tr. from the Greek by Several Hands [Matthew Morgan et al.], (5 vols.) London, 1718. (A copy of this edition is in Emerson's library.) See "Of Man's Progress in Vertue," II, 453: "Nor was it an Argument of a much less Spirit in Agesilaus, who hearing this same King of Persia, styled the Great; presently asked, In what is he greater than I, if he be not juster than I am." For repetitions to be found in the Morals, see note on 167.36. See also "Agesilaus" in Plutarch's Lives.

167.25 it [religion] has exerted according to the confession of Hume an influence not to be computed, and does always threaten...arbitrary government.] Emerson probably had in mind the religious opposition to the tyranny of James I and Charles I on the eve of the Cromwellian revolution. (See the History of England, chap. L and following.) Hume more frequently saw that religion opposed tyranny with tyranny. (See especially his The Natural History of Religion.) Reference is also possibly to his "Of the Origin of Government" in his Essays: "Religion also, in most countries, is commonly found to be a very intractable principle; and other principles or prejudices frequently resist all the authority of the civil magistrate; whose power...can never subvert other opinions equally rooted with that of his title to dominion. The government, which, in common appellation, receives the appellation of free, is that which admits of a partition of power among several members...."

168.16 he left all and followed it] For the idiom, see Matt. 19:27; Mark 10:28; Luke 5:11, 28; 18:28.

168.25 idealist seeking ever to accommodate the shows of things to the desires of the mind] See note on 162.23.

169.3 making himself a leather suit of clothes] Carlyle has memorialized this fact in Book III, chapter 1, of Sartor Resartus, which Emerson had read in serialized form in Fraser's Magazine, IX, no. 54 (June, 1834), pp. 664-674.

170.2 into that which changeth not] See Psalm 15:4; Hebrews 1:11-12; 1 Cor. 15:52-54.

170.30 the Scriptures cannot be understood but by the same spirit that gave them forth] For other echoes in the lectures of this transcendental axiom of literary interpretation, see 210.34, 228.12, 232.5, 360.29. For commentary and origin, see E T E, I, 170, 261, 278-279, 350, 417; II, 26. See the index of E T E, moreover, for correlative axioms: "Like only can know like" (by Heraclitus). "The same can be known only by the same." "God without can be known only by God within." "Quantum sumus, scimus." See also Plato's "Ion" and commentaries thereon. The Platonic doctrine pervaded all Emerson's commoner sources: George Fox, Coleridge, Swedenborg, and Sampson Reed. Cf. note on 214.21ff.

170.32 dwelleth not in houses of brick and stone] Cf. 2 Cor. 5:1——"For we know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." See Acts 17:24-25——"God that made the world and all things ... dwelleth not in temples made with hands; Neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things." See John 4:24——"God is Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

170.34 the natures of dogs, swine, vipers, etc....were in the hearts of many people] Fox's imagery at this point was best explained to Emerson by the Swedenborgian doctrine of "affections clothed." See E T E, I, 236, 238-240, and 270-272. Most instructive was Sampson Reed's "On Animals," New Jerusalem Magazine, II (1828-1829), 23-29 (reprinted in E T E, II, 34-37).

171.29 then he should not swear at all] See Matt.5:34-37——"But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven...Nor by the earth...neither by Jerusalem...Neither shalt thou swear by the head...But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." Cf. note on 75.24.

171.31 but should seek peace with all man] Cf. Romans 12:18——"If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Cf. Hebrews 12:14 ——"Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." Also 1 Peter 3:11——"Let him eschew evil, and do good; let him seek peace, and ensue it." Cf. also 1 Timothy 5:13.

172.2 doctrine of infallible guidance] For the "Doctrine of Infallible Guidance if one will abdicate choice," see E T E, I, 241, 273 and 383; also 186, 280 and 282. It stems from Coleridge's view of the Will. See Journals, III, 337-338. For Emerson's early poetic treatment of this theme of spiritual "receptionism"—Swedenborgian in its coloring—see "Gnothi Seauton," E T E, I, 175-179.

172.7 every man [in] the care of a Genius who befriended him] For Emerson's personal commitment to this doctrine and its contemporary background, see "Emerson's Daemon and the Orphic Poet," E T E, I, 361-399.

172.9 the story of Socrates' Daemon] See Emerson's Bowdoin Prize dissertation on "The Character of Socrates" (1820), to be edited in my forthcoming Transcendental Climate, I, pp. 8-9.

172.10 belief in fairies] See notes on 178.11 and esp. 256.13.

172.14 words of fate, not one falls to the ground] See Matt. 10:29——"Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father." Cf. De Staël's Germany, ed. cit., III, 401-402: "With whatever atmosphere we may be surrounded, a sincere word was never com-

pletely lost; if there is but one day on which success can be gained, there are ages for the operation of the good which may be done by truth."

173.6 in the lecture of Kant or Fichte on the Transcendental Philosophy] See De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 39-74.

173.10 the nature of animals, of dreams, of names] See note on 170.34 and Emerson's Nature (1836), 7.5-7.

173.19 but delights to endure all things] See 1 Cor. 13:7——"...hopeth all things, endureth all things." Cf. 2 Timothy 4:5.

173.25 its life is everlasting love unfeigned] See 2 Cor. 6:6——"By pureness, by knowledge, by longsuffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned." Cf. 1 Peter 1:22.

173.27 keeps it by lowliness of mind] See Philippians 2:3——"Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves."

173.32 them who lived in dens and desolate places of the earth] See Hebrews 11:38——"Of whom the world was not worthy: who wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth." Cf. Revelation 6:15.

173.33 through death obtained this resurrection] See Hebrews 11:35——"Women received their dead raised to life again: and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection."

174.18 Nature never fails...the divine Light rekindles in some...obscure heart] This lecture was delivered on Feb. 26, 1835; by June 10, Emerson had completed his "Statement of the First Philosophy," which provides the best commentary on this line—on the unpredictable behavior of the "Light" or "Lethean Stream." See E T E, I, 191-194. See note on 167.4. On the German mystics, see De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 26-34.

174.35 He puts ever a thing for a hollow form.] See note on 131.13.

175.15 "Husks! Husks!"] Cf. the story of the Lost Boy or Prodigal Son: Luke 15:16ff. Cf. note on 177.7.

176.17 he did not fight with carnal weapons] See 2 Cor. 10:4——"For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

176.17 Bowing to the creature he denied.] Cf. Exodus 20:4-5; Romans 8:20; 8:39.

177.7 like a child returning to his father's house] See the story of the Lost Boy or Prodigal SonL Luke 15:11-32. Cf. note on 175.15.

177.11 Of all Revolutions a religious change...greatest when...one man made infinite.] See 180.34. For similar remarks on Luther, see 127.16ff. On Emerson's doctrine of the "infinitude of the private man," see "Infinitude" and "Infinite" in the index of E T E. See the late sermon, "Religion and Society" (Oct. 27, 1833), Young Emerson Speaks, p. 200.

177.15 Of old things all are over old...none are good enough...frame A world of other stuff.] Wordsworth's "Rob Roy's Grave," lines 85-88.

Emerson scored them in the margin of his copy of The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, (4 vols.) Boston, 1824. They are also quoted at the end of Emerson's letter to Edward, May 31, 1834 (Letters, I, 414).

177.26 The gods have come down to us in the likeness of men] See Acts 14:11——"And when the people saw what Paul had done, they lifted up their voices saying in the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men."

178.6 these sayers of Yes and No] See note on 75.24 and 171.29.

178.11 adventurer favored by the fairies...pocket...replenished with money so long as he did not count it] See note on 256.10 and 257.3.

179.18 that bloody town of Boston] The details about the mistreatment of the Quakers in New England are found in many places. The Editors cite Thomas Hutchinson, The History of Massachusetts, (3 vols.) Boston, 1795-1828, but they first appeared in William Sewell, The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers. Emerson also came upon details in the reviews. See, for example, Robert Southey, "History and Present State of America," Quarterly Review, II, no. 4 (Nov., 1809), pp. 319-337, esp. 326-329.

179.25 they sailed for Barbadoes] See inter alia "West India Missions--Insurrection in Demerara," Edinburgh Review, XL, no. 79 (Mar., 1824), pp. 226-270, esp. 233ff.

179.26 Indian camps] Though Emerson omitted discussing the notable work of the Quakers among the North American Indians, he was acquainted with "Civilization of the American Savages," Edinburgh Review, VIII, no. 16 (July, 1806), pp. 442-450. On this subject, see also Henry Brougham in Edinburgh Review, X (1807), 476-478.

179.29 Did not the Quakers give cause for these severities?] Emerson rightly omitted from this sketch of George Fox, as being irrelevant, examples of psychopathic and provocative Quakers, accounts of whom together with Fox, appeared in Robert Southey, "History of the Dissenters, &c.," Quarterly Review, X, no. 19 (Oct., 1813), pp. 90-139, esp. 105-112. Emerson, moreover, could not personally accept the critical or Anglican point of view of Francis Jeffrey, "Clarkson on Quakerism," Edinburgh Review, X, no. 19 (April, 1807), pp. 85-102.

180.24 not to truths, not to things, but to usages] Cf. note on 131.13.

180.30 the badge of their tribe] Echo of Shylock's speech in Shakspeare's Merchant of Venice, I,iii,111: "For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe."

180.34 the doctrine of the infinitude of Man] See note on 177.11ff.

181.9 "God is within us."] The richest commentary appears in four of Emerson's sermons, the first two still unpublished: "The Kingdom of Heaven is Within" (Oct. 31, 1830); "God in the Soul" (Mar. 6, 1831); "Religion and Society" (Oct. 27, 1833); and "The Miracle of Our Being" (September 7, 1834), the last two in Young Emerson Speaks. See Luke 17:20-21: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you." See note on 378.5. Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 29, 32, and 35.

182.16 directed attention to the subject of Prison Discipline] Cf. Robert Southey and John Rickman, "On the Means of Improving the People," Quarterly Review, XIX, no. 37 (April, 1818), pp. 79-118, esp. 115, on the Quakers and conditions at Newgate Prison.

182.18 Society of Friends...the Abolition of Slavery and the Suppression of Intemperance] The important part played by the Quakers in anti-slavery is discussed in Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," Edinburgh Review, XII, no. 24 (July, 1808), pp. 355-379, esp. 360ff.

185.19 not in the formal biographies of him...his merits have been determined] The reviewer of "Prior's Life of Burke," Quarterly Review, XXXIV, no. 68 (Sept., 1826), pp. 457-587, esp. 459-462, gave Emerson substance for this generalization. See note on 201.22. Emerson may have recalled his early reading of the reasoned and adverse criticism of Burke, written in reply to Coleridge's eulogy, by Francis Jeffrey in "Coleridge's Literary Life," Edinburgh Review, XXVIII, no. 56 (Aug., 1817), pp. 488-515, esp. 503-507.

186.7 no caprice and no chance in the final award upon human merit. A dim, venerable Public decides] Cf. 212.17, 231.23ff., 262.7, 262.30ff. The tests for greatness in men, ideas, or books, in Emerson's opinion, are transcendental; that is, they concern the degree of Influx or "reception" from the center of Being. See 231.35: "...they made themselves obedient to the spirit that was in them...." For an account of the operation of these tests, see "Coleridge and the Genesis of Emerson's 'Uriel,'" P Q, XXX, no. 2 (April, 1951), pp. 212-217. But Time is the dimension of the testing. Emerson followed Victor Cousin's philosophy of history and Coleridge's The Friend in his speculation on this subject (E T E, I, 108, 171, and 305ff), which is dealt with in two unpublished sermons: "The Holy Spirit" (Mar. 20, 1831) and "The Common Basis of Truth" (Mar. 27, 1831).

186.15 constant mind of man] See the note on 138.9 and 212.27.

187.11 a sight like that of an archangel into the Present and the Future] An allusion to the good offices of the Archangel Raphael to Adam in Paradise Lost, Books V-VIII, and of the Archangel Michael, in Books XI-XII. Cf. the similar language of 325.4. See note on 336.11.

187.15 He is...the great Secretary of philosophy.] See notes on 317.3 and 357.17. Emerson was indebted for the metaphor partly to Izaak Walton's Life of Herbert for a reference to "the great secretary of Nature, —Sir Francis Bacon." James Howell, in Familiar Letters, Book II, letter 11, spoke of "Plato...Aristotle...Socrates...These great secretaries of Nature." According to Ben Jonson's Discoveries, Sir Henry Wotton wrote to Bacon: "I have received three copies of that work, wherewith your Lordship hath done a great and everlasting benefit to all the children of Nature, and to Nature herself in her utmost extent and latitude, who never before had so true and Interpreter, or so inward a Secretary of her Cabinet."

188.25 Not so masculine a judgment as Bacon...Burke is diffuse] Cf. 325.3.

189.28 never a philosopher in the highest nor in the lowest use of that term] Cf. Francis Jeffrey, "Coleridge's Literary Life," Edinburgh Review, XXVIII, no. 56 (Aug., 1817), pp. 488-515, esp. 505: "As to his

[Burke's] understanding, he certainly was not a great philosopher; for his works of mere abstract reasoning are shallow and inefficient:— Nor a man of sense and business; for, both in counsel and in conduct, he alarmed his friends as much at least as his opponents.... He applied the habit of reflection, which he had borrowed from his metaphysical studies, but which was not competent to the discovery of any elementary truth in that department, with great felicity and success, to the mixed mass of human affairs. He knew more of the political machine than a recluse philosopher; and he speculated more profoundly on its principles and general results than a mere politician."

192.26 the affecting tale...of Burke's goodness to...Crabbe] All details appear in John Gibson Lockhart, "Life of Crabbe by his Son," Quarterly Review, L, no. 100 (Jan., 1834), 468-508, esp. 482-486. I am aware of no evidence that Emerson actually read volume one of the Life and Poetical Works of the Reverend George Crabbe, (8 vols.) London, 1834.

193.34 a man is exalted by the courtesy and respect he pays to woman] Cf. 249.33.

194.32 to turn their liberty into a cloak for maliciousness] See 1 Peter 2:16——"As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God."

195.16 never pride] Emerson was fond of Burke's remark in an undated letter to James Barry, published in Sir James Prior, Memoir of the Life and Character of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke, Phila., 1825, p. 124: "A man never can have any point of pride that is not pernicious to him."

196.27 "When bad men combine, good men must associate."] See Burke's "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents" in The Works, (new ed., 16 vols.) London, 1815-1827, II, p. 330: "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."

197.11 In the way which they call Party I worship the constitution of your fathers] See Acts 24:14——"But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets." (St. Paul).

201.22 His biographers lament loudly the opposition and defeats] See note on 185.19. Emerson probably had in mind at least the following: Charles M'Cormick, Memoirs of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, London, 1797; Robert Bisset, The Life of Edmund Burke, (2nd ed., 2 vols.) London, 1800; Sir James Prior, Memoir of the Life and Character of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, with Specimens of his Poetry and Letters, (2nd ed., 2 vols.) London, 1826.

210.31 we cannot make scholars. They must be born] Emerson here modifies the proverb: "Poets are born, not made." (Poeta nascitur, non fit.) Sir Philip Sidney, in his Apologie for Poetrie, mentions "an old proverb, Orator fit, poeta nascitur"—apparently a modification of Cicero, who wrote: "Nascimur poetae, fimus oratores."

210.34 a truth...can be received only by the same spirit that gave it forth] See note on 170.30.

211.16 if we would not deceive ourselves] Cf. 1 John 1:8; 1 Cor. 3:18; Jeremiah 37:9.

212.7 swarm like flies] Cf. Exodus 8:21-31. See note on 133.8.

212.17 no luck in literary reputation...a public not to be bribed... decides upon every man's fame] See note on 186.7; 262.7.

212.20 Bulwer may endure for a night but Homer and Moses last forever] See Psalm 30:5—— "...weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning."

212.27 the constant mind of man] See note on 138.9 and 186.15.

212.28 no man can teach more than he knows] Emerson repeated this sentence frequently in his early journals. See the passage (dated Dec. 2, 1834) in Young Emerson Speaks, xxxix-xl: "The two conditions of Teaching are: 1. That none can teach more than he knows. 2. That none can teach faster than the scholar can learn...." See ibid., p. 32: "The minister should be a man of feeling, or...he will vainly endeavour to excite movements in other souls that have no archetypes in his own."

212.30 let him mark, learn, eat, and digest these books as Scriptures] An echo of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, which Ruth Emerson kept on her dressing table throughout her life—the collect for the Second Sunday in Advent: "Blessed Lord, who hast caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning; Grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy Word, we may embrace, and ever hold fast, the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ." See note on 360.23. For his mother's strong and continued predilection for Anglicanism (the Episcopal Church), see Letters, IV, 401-404.

212.32 sweet in the mouth and sweet in the belly] Cf. Revelation 10: 9-10; Exekiel 3:3. See also varieties of the proverb, "What is sweet in the mouth is oft sour (bitter) in the maw (stomach)." Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Ann Arbor, 1950, p. 482.

212.34 Multum non multa (Aphorism of Aquinas)] This is correlative with St. Thomas Aquinas's "Read one book to be learned" or "I fear only the man of one book." Source not located.

213.31 The great and only true economy of time is not to do anything unfit for you to do.] See Journals, III, 488 (June 4, 1835) for an illuminating parallel, written two months before this lecture and at the time he was working on his "Statement of the First Philosophy:" "The world I describe is that, where only the laws of mind are known; the only economy of time is saying and doing nothing untrue to self."

214.6 like him who carried a tile as a sample of his palace] See Jonathan Swift, The Drapier's Letters, No. 2 (Aug. 4, 1724): "I have heard of a man who had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried a piece of brick in his pocket, which he shewed as a pattern to encourage purchasers." Emerson read much in Swift's The Works, (24 vols.) London, 1803 (or N.Y., 1812) between 1819 and 1824. His brothers continued to bring volumes into the home. See Cameron, Emerson's Early Reading List, 1819-1824, N.Y., 1951; also "More Emerson Reading at Harvard," chapter I of Emerson and Thoreau as Readers, Hartford, 1958, pp. 15-42.

214.8 a law of Wit that whoso can make a good sentence can make a good book] For an illustration of this "atomic theory" of composition

or "school of the sentence," see Journals, III, 287-289; 477-479; 529. See Early Lectures, 317.8 and 349.2. Compare, however, Emerson's remarks on the lack of "composition" in Bacon's sententious works, Early Lectures, 334-335. Emerson's theory reflects the aesthetic climate of the Age of Pope. See Alexander Pope's letter to Wycherly, Dec. 26, 1704: "True Wit, I believe, may be defined a justness of thought, and a facility of expression." See his Essay on Criticism (1709), lines 297-298: "True Wit is Nature to advantage dress'd, / What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd." For the various meanings of "wit" in Emerson's day, see Sir James Mackintosh, "Stewart's Introduction to the Encyclopaedia," Edinburgh Review, XXVII, no. 53 (Sept., 1816), pp. 180-244, esp. p. 240. Also William Hazlitt, "Definition of Wit," Literary Remains, (2 vols.) London, 1836.

214.21 A good book...like the Ancient Mariner who can tell his tale only to a few...destined to hear it] Emerson's great indebtedness to Coleridge extended beyond the Englishman's prose works. This important allusion to "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" should be considered with 379.26ff. For its relevance to the Emersonian-Coleridgean-Swedenborgian-Platonic principle of literary criticism or interpretation, see note on 170.30.

214.30 that pure feeling...the moral sublime] See E T E, I, 179, 191, 354, 364-365.

215.12 style...the transparent medium through which I should see new and good thoughts] See note on 102.16.

215.16 the poem was a transcript of Nature] A useful commentary is Emerson's Nature (1836), 29.10—30.13.

215.17 there was nothing arbitrary in the choice of words] See note on "receptionism" on page 119.12.

215.30 go out as magnets to find the atoms of steel...in the mountains and prairies] The image of the magnet made its appeal during Emerson's college days. See his dissertation, "The Present State of Ethical Philosophy" (1821): "We delight in every exertion of active moral power and exclaim against every retrograde step.... Few men, probably, feel any inclination to perform the experiment of weakening the magnet; all prefer to see its power accumulating." See Journals, II, 213 and 224.

218.12 an Eastern poet beguiled an hour thirty-five centuries ago] Possibly a reference to King David, to the Book of the Psalms, to a song of Moses, or to one of the other early Hebrew poems discussed in Johann Gottfried von Herder, The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, (2 vols.) Burlington, 1833; or Robert Lowth, Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, tr. George Gregory, Andover, 1829; London, 1835.

218.31 the ideas of God, order, freedom, justice, love, time, space, self, matter] Cf. 219.5 and 231.14. For a discussion of "Necessary Ideas" or "Necessary Truths" that enter by intuition into the Reason of man, see the Coleridge chapters in E T E, esp. I, 201-203. See also the index under the key words.

219.11 The Ideas in every man's mind make him what he is. His whole action...is to utter...those thoughts.] See note on 119.12.

219.26 obedient to the master idea reigning in the minds of many persons] The Platonic or Neo-Platonic character of the entire paragraph is

obvious. Plato's doctrine of Ideas and Archetypes reappears in "The American Scholar." See also the views of Victor Cousin and of "Eclecticism" in E T E, I, 305-306, 316-318.

220.34 Every fact in outward nature answers to some state of mind] Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21.

221.29 the garment of thought] For the Swedenborgian background of this image, see "garment" and "affections clothed" in the index of E T E. Cf. Journals, III, 370: "Why then should the Swedenborgian doctrine be obnoxious, that in the spiritual world the affections clothe themselves with appropriate garments, dwellings, and other circumstances." See note on 79.12.

221.33 the reabsorption of the soul into God was anciently figured by a phial of water broken in the sea.] See Journals, II, 101, 109; Young Emerson Speaks, 245.10-16; he records in his Harvard notebooks that Professor Edward Everett lectured on Pythagoras and the Anima Mundi, from which the soul comes and to which it returns. (See Journals and Notebooks, I, p. 48.) During Harvard years he read Joseph Priestley, Doctrines of Heathen Philosophy, compared with those of Revelation, Northumberland, 1804, p. 198: "In like manner, having no idea of a proper creation, i.e. out of nothing, they [the Stoics] considered the highest principle in man, viz. that of intelligence, as the same in all, derived from the same source; and this they conceived to be the supreme intelligence, which disposed and directs the affairs of the whole universe, and like the principle of animal life, they held that, being detached from its source at the birth of every man, it was absorbed into it again after his death, as a drop of water (to use a comparison that is frequent with them) is absorbed and lost in the ocean. Consequently, its separate existence, and separate consciousness, then vanished."

222.2 "I see a chasm in the place of France," said Burke] See Robert Grant or John Hookham Frere, "Gifford's Life of the Rt. Hon. W. Pitt," Quarterly Review, IV, no. 7 (Aug., 1810), pp. 207-271, esp. 233: "When the sentiment expressed by Mr. Burke at an early period of the French revolution, I see a chasm in the place of France, was reported to Mirabeau, that sagacious anarch is said, not more happily than justly, to have exclaimed, It is the chasm of a volcano. It is, indeed, astonishing to consider, how serious an effect has been produced on the destinies of the world by an occurrence which originally appeared of a nature altogether negative."

223.21 Hope and fear alternate swayed his breast....Douglas.] Emerson here quotes inaccurately four lines which Dugald Stewart had himself misquoted in Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, (5th ed., 2 vols.) London, 1814, I, p. 316 [Ch. V, Part I, sect. 4, subsection III ("Of Poetical Fancy"): "The following allusion, in one of Mr. Home's tragedies, appears to me to unite almost every excellence:

> 'Hope and fear, alternate, sway'd his breast;
> Like light and shade upon a waving field,
> Coursing each other, when the flying clouds
> Now hide, and now reveal, the Sun.'

Here the analogy is remarkably perfect; not only between light and hope, and between darkness and fear; but between the rapid succession of light and shade, and the momentary influences of these opposite emotions: while, at the same time, the new image which is presented to us, recals one of the most pleasing and impressive incidents in rural scenery." It

seems that Emerson guessed that the quotation came from John Home's Douglas, (1st ed.) London, 1757. Actually it comes from his "Alonzo; A Tragedy," Act I. See The Works of John Home, Esq. Now First Collected, (3 vols.) Edinburgh, 1822, II, 196 (Ormisinda is speaking):

> But hope and fear alternate sway my mind:
> Like light and shade upon a waving field
> Coursing each other, when the flying clouds
> Now hide and now reveal the sun of heaven.

223.25 Not she: she tempts me not] See 292.20.

223.31 attempt to shear the wolf] See The Beauties of Fox, North, and Burke, selected from their Speeches, from the Passing of the Quebec Act, in the Year 1774, Down to the Present Time, (2nd ed.) London, 1784, pp. 61-62 (under date of Nov. 27, 1781): "Mr. Burke exclaimed, Oh! infatuated man! (looking over to Lord North) miserable and undone country! not to know that right signified nothing without might; that the claim, without the power of enforcing it, was nugatory and idle, in the copyhold of rival states, or of immense bodies. Oh! says the silly man, full of his prerogative of dominion over a few beasts of the field, there is excellent wool on the back of a Wolf, and therefore he must be sheared. What! shear a Wolf? Yes. But will he comply? have you considered the trouble? how will you get this wool? Oh! says he, I have considered nothing, and I will consider nothing, but my right. A wolf is an animal that has wool; all animals that have wool are to be shorn, and therefore I will shear the wolf.—This was just the kind of reasoning urged by the noble Lord, and this the council given by him."

224.24 It is the standing problem which has exercised the wonder and the study of every fine genius...the Sphinx...her riddle] See 79.4ff., 353.1, and the note on 78.34; also De Staël's Germany, ed. cit., III, 41: "It is natural to be seduced by the easy solution of the greatest problems; but this apparent simplicity exists only in the mode of inquiry; the object to which it is pretendingly applied, does not the less continue of an unknown immensity; and the aenigma of ourselves swallows up, like the sphinx, thousands of systems which pretend to the glory of having guessed its meaning." See also her ¶s. 12-21. See the index of E T E and Journals, III, 525. Emerson is partly indebted to Bacon's "The Mythology of the Ancients, Decyphered and Explained," The Works, ed. & tr. Peter Shaw, (12 vols.) London, 1802-1803, V, 57-63:

X.

THE FABLE OF SPHINX;

EXPLAINED OF THE SCIENCES.

THEY relate that Sphinx was a monster, variously formed; having the face and voice of a virgin, the wings of a bird, and the talons of a Gryphin. She resided on the top of a mountain, near the city Thebes; and also beset the highways. Her manner was to lie in ambush, and seize the travellers; and having them in her power, proposed to them certain dark and perplexed riddles, which it was thought she received

from the muses: And if her wretched captives could not solve, and interpret, these riddles, she with great cruelty fell upon them, in their hesitation and confusion, and tore them to pieces.

This plague having reigned a long time, the Thebans at length offered their kingdom to the man who could interpret her riddles; there being no other way to subdue her. Oedipus, a penetrating, and prudent man, though lame in his feet; excited by so great a reward, accepted the condition; and with a good assurance of mind, chearfully presented himself before the monster, who directly asked him, "What creature that was, which being born four-footed, afterwards became two-footed, then three-footed, and lastly four-footed again?" Oedipus, with a presence of mind, replied it was man; who, upon his first birth, and infant state, crawled upon all four, in endeavouring to walk; but not long after that, went upright upon his two natural feet; again, in old age walked three-footed, with a stick; and at last growing decrepid, lay four-footed confined to his bed. And having by this exact solution obtained the victory, he slew the monster, and laying the carcass upon an ass, led her away as in triumph. And upon this he was, according to the agreement, made king of Thebes.

EXPLANATION.

This is an elegant, instructive fable, and seems invented to represent science, especially as joined with practice. For science may, without absurdity, be called a monster; being strangely gazed at, and admired, by the ignorant and unskilful. Her figure and form is various, by reason of the vast variety of subjects that science considers. Her voice and countenance are represented female, by reason of her gay appearance, and volubility of speech.* Wings are added, because the sciences and their inventions run, and fly about, in a moment; for knowledge, like light communicated from one torch to another, is presently catched, and copiously diffused. Sharp and hooked talons are elegantly attributed to her; because the axioms and arguments of science enter the mind, lay hold of it, fix it down, and keep it from moving or slipping away. This the sacred philosopher observed, when he said, "The words of the wise are like goads, or nails, driven far in."

* For science or philosophy has, in the general, rather been a shewy and talkative thing, than solid, serviceable, and effective.

Again, all science seems placed on high, as it were on the tops of mountains, that are hard to climb; for science is justly imagined a sublime and lofty thing, looking down upon ignorance from an eminence, and at the same time taking an extensive view on all sides, as is usual on the tops of mountains. Science is said to beset the highways; because through all the journey and peregrination of human life, there is matter and occasion offered of contemplation.

Sphinx is said to propose various difficult questions, and riddles, to men, which she received from the muses; and these questions, so long as they remain with the muses, may very well be unaccompanied with severity; for while there is no other end of contemplation and enquiry but that of knowledge alone, the understanding is not oppressed, or driven to straits and difficulties, but expatiates and ranges at large, and even receives a degree of pleasure from doubt and variety. But after the muses have given over their riddles to Sphinx, that is, to practice, which urges and impels to action, choice, and determination, then it is that they become torturing, severe, and trying: and unless solved and interpreted, strangely perplex and harass the human mind, rend it every way, and perfectly tear it to pieces.* All the riddles of Sphinx, therefore, have two conditions annexed; viz. dilaceration to those who do not solve them; and empire to those that do. For he who understands the thing proposed, obtains his end: and every artificer rules over his work.†

Sphinx has no more than two kinds of riddles; one relating to the nature of things; the other to the nature of man: and correspondent to these, the prizes of the solution are two kinds of

empire; the empire over nature, and the empire over man. For the true and ultimate end of natural philosophy, is dominion over natural things, natural bodies, remedies, machines, and numberless other particulars: though the schools, contented with what spontaneously offers, and swollen with their own discourses, neglect, and in a manner despise, both things and works.*

But the riddle proposed to Oedipus, the solution whereof acquired him the Theban kingdom, regarded the nature of man; for he who has thoroughly looked into and examined human nature, may, in a manner, command his own fortune, and seems born to acquire dominion and rule.† Accordingly, Virgil properly makes the arts of government to be the arts of the Romans.‡ It was, therefore, extremely apposite in Augustus Cæsar, to use the image of Sphinx in his signet, whether this happened by accident or by design, for he of all men was deeply versed in politics, and through the course of his life very happily solved abundance of new riddles, with regard to the nature of man: and unless he had done this with great dexterity and ready address, he would frequently have been involved in imminent danger, if not destruction.

It is, with the utmost elegance, added in the fable, that when Sphinx was conquered, her carcass was laid upon an ass; for there is nothing so subtile and abstruse, but after being once made plain, intelligible and common, it may be received by the slowest capacity.

We must not omit, that Sphinx was conquered by a lame man, and impotent in his feet; for men usually make too much haste to the solution of Sphinx's riddles: whence it happens, that she prevailing, their minds are rather racked and torn by disputes, than an empire gained by works and effects.*

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* To gain the clearer notion of this, we need only consider the necessities and inconveniences, under which the inhabitants, even of civilized countries, frequently labour, from inundations, conflagrations, dearths, storms, lightning, wars, devastation, tyrannical governments, blind and furious zeal, superstition, want of commerce and certain commodities; all which particulars, when they come to be practically considered, in order to their being remedied, removed or prevented, distract and perplex the mind; especially when the causes of these effects remain unknown, so as not to be governable by human means.

† This is what the author so frequently inculcates in his *Novum Organum*; viz that knowledge and power are reciprocal; so that to improve in knowledge, is to improve in the power of commanding nature, by introducing new arts, and producing works and effects.

* This is largely prosecuted in the *Novum Organum*.

† See the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, of Self-Policy, or the Doctrine of Rising in Life.

‡ "Tu regere Imperio Populos, Romane, memento:
" Hæ tibi erunt Artes."

* See the first part of the *Novum Organum*.

225.6 clothing...things of the mind in the things of matter] For the significance of Swedenborgian imagery, see note on 221.29.

225.9 and so read one side of the riddle] See notes on 78.34 and 224.24.

225.12 instinctive belief...of a strict analogy between the world and the mind] Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21.

225.14 a still higher harmony of events with nature...philosophy of History...Man acting under the control of Ideas] For Emerson's temporary enthusiasm for Victor Cousin and the French philosopher's Eclecticism, see E T E, I, 302-319. He owned Friedrich von Schlegel's Philosophy of History, tr. from the German with a memoir by James Burton Robertson, (2 vols.) London, 1835. He had read Henry C. Murphy, "The Philosophy of History," North American Review, XXXIX, no. 84 (July, 1834), pp. 30-56—a review of François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, Cours d'Histoire Moderne, Paris, 1829. See note on 234.9 and 251.35.

225.23 cannot get far enough away from ourselves to integrate our scraps of thought and action] See De Staël's Germany, ed. cit., ¶ 48.

225.28 an inextinguishable conviction...that...the best is always done] Emerson's early optimism shares something with that of Leibnitz and the other Idealists, some of whom he mentions in Nature (1836), 43.18. Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶ 47.

225.35 Over men the purposes of Providence are thrown like enormous nets...without restraining individuals] Emerson here acknowledges at the same time an over-all Necessity and a freedom of the will for the individual person. For the full significance of Freedom of the Will in this phase of his Transcendentalism, see E T E, I, 204-205.

226.10 the Thinker or man of letters.... It is in the nature...of universal man to think.] Cf. 228.9 and the relevant views on the scholar in "The American Scholar."

226.13 The relation between thought and the world...stands in the will of God] Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21.

226.16 It appears to men, or it does not appear.] For commentary see sections XII-XIV of "The Statement of the First Philosophy" (June 10, 1835) in E T E, I, 191-194. See also 290.26.

226.19 take one's stand in the absolute, and consider...things and events as a spectacle and not as action] For commentary, see the "transparent eyeball" passage in Nature (1836), 13.2-18. See 384.10.

226.24 The Thinker takes [men] aside and makes them see...as in dumb show] See Nature (1836), 59-75 ("Idealism") for illustrations.

228.2 Hazlitt...Coleridge...at Stowey..."made the whole material universe look like a transparency of fine words."] Hazlitt's "My First Acquaintance with Poets" appears as Essay XIX in Literary Remains of the Late William Hazlitt, N.Y. and London, 1836—published apparently after Emerson's lecture. (See p. 284.) Emerson must, therefore, have known Hazlitt's chapter in its first printed form: See The Liberal. Verse and Prose from the South, ed. Leigh Hunt et al., (4 numbers in 2 vols.) London, 1822-1823, II, no. 3 (1823), pp. 23-46. See p. 35 for the following: "I had heard a great deal of his powers of conversation, and was not disappointed. In fact, I never met with any thing at all like them, either before or since. I could easily credit the accounts which were circulated of his holding forth to a large party of ladies and gentlemen, an evening or two before, on the Berkeleian Theory, when he made the whole material universe look like a transparency of fine words...." On the motif of transparency in Emerson, see the note on 102.16.

228.12 he must be read in the same spirit in which he wrote] See note on 170.30.

228.30 seers and prophets on whose minds first rise those truths which shine in the sky of the world, and never set.] See note on 119.12.

229.9 every attainment and discipline that increases a man's connexion with the invisible world raises his being.] For useful Swedenborgian glosses on this passage, see E T E, I, 237 and 241 et passim. See also the note on 20.23 and 13.18.

229.16 A river of thoughts is always running out of the invisible world into the mind of man.] On the Swedenborgian doctrine of Influx and on his little treatise, The Intercourse Between the Soul and Body, which

Emerson was beginning to read at this time, see E T E, index. On the belief that genius is "reception" see note on 119.12.

229.19 symbolical custom of...Mexican priests...annual extinction of household fires...to procure...fire from the sun] Emerson took this from Alexander von Humboldt, Researches Concerning the Institutions & Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America, with Descriptions & Views of Some of the Most Striking Scenes in the Cordilleras, tr. Helen Maria Williams, (2 vols.) London, [1814], I, pp. 225-226 and 381-383: "At the end of each cycle...people, expecting...the fourth destruction of the Sun and the Earth, extinguished all the fires; till, at the beginning of the new cycle, the priests lighted them anew.... The art of producing fire, by rubbing together two kinds of wood of different hardness, is of remote antiquity.... In the evening of the last day of the nemontemi...began the festival of the new fire. The priests took the dresses of their gods; and, followed by an immense crowd of people, went in solemn procession to the mountain of Huixachtecatl, two leagues from Mexico, between Iztapallapan and Culhuacan. This...was called the march of the gods, teonenemi.... When the procession had reached the summit of the porphyritic mountain of Huixachtecatl, it waited the moment when the Pleiades ascended the middle of the sky, to begin the horrible sacrifice .... When the bits of wood...detached by the rapid friction of the cylinder, had taken fire, an enormous pile, previously prepared to receive the body of the unfortunate victim, was kindled. The flames...were seen from a great part of the valley of Mexico, on account of the height of the mountain on which this sanguinary rite was performed; and the people filled the air with joyful exclamations. All those who were unable to follow the procession were stationed on the terraces of houses, or the tops of the teocallis...; their eyes were fixed on the spot where the flame was to appear, a certain presage of the benevolence of the gods, and of the preservation of mankind during the course of a new cycle. Messengers posted at respective distances, holding branches of the wood of a very resinous pine, carried the new fire from village to village, to the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues; it was deposited in every temple, whence it was distributed to every private dwelling. When the Sun began to appear on the horizon, the acclamations redoubled."

229.36 The very language we speak thinks for us] After referring to Bacon, Shakespeare and others who have contributed distinctions and meaning to the vernacular, Emerson says (Journals, III, 439): "Thus the language thinks for us, as Coleridge said." In paraphrasing the Englishman's words Emerson transforms a pessimistic statement into a usable theory. See Biographia Literaria for Coleridge's lament about the rarity of works of genius in his day and the indolence of authors who lifelessly used other people's words and thoughts——E T E, I, 90. Emerson summarizes Coleridge's meaning elsewhere (231.32ff): "They did not sing to the tune of the times...sayers of smooth things to lull the ear of society." Cf. also 310.8 and 75.4.

230.17 believe that the cruse of truth is dry and will run no more oil] See the story of Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath in 1 Kings 17: 8-16. See 383.1.

231.8 the striving for long periods...of the great national mind] For Victor Cousin's influence at this time, see note on 225.14.

231.14 majestic ideas of God, of Justice, of Freedom, of Necessity, of War, and of Intellectual Beauty] See note on 218.31.

231.23 The great men...of English literature...selected...by the severest of all judges, Time] See note on 186.7.

232.5 read in...a spirit which conspires with their own] See note on 170.30.

233.26 Are they lovers of freedom? we more. Are they lovers of commerce? we more. Are they lovers of utility? we more.] See St. Paul's famous lines concerning the Judaizing party within the early Christian Church (2 Cor. 11:22-23): "Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool,) I am more."

234.9 no event is casual or solitary...all...proceed...from...qualities of the national character] For the strong influence of Victor Cousin on Emerson, see note on 186.7 and 225.14.

235.10 Eight hundred years ago...in a Latin history...England richest of all the northern nations] Not located.

236.17 her proverb...the sun never sets on her flag] See Burton Stevenson, The Home Book of Quotations, Classical and Modern, (3rd ed.) N.Y., 1937, 547 and 1896, for many variations. E.g., John Wilson, in 1829, mentioned "His Majesty's dominions, on which the sun never sets." (The proverb was anciently applied to Spain and her colonies. See Hoyt's New Cyclopedia of Practical Quotations, comp. Kate Louise Roberts, N.Y. & London, [1940], p. 615, and Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, p. 641.

237.22 one Roman historian relates that twenty-nine Saxons strangled themselves to avoid being brought...as gladiators] See Sharon Turner, The History of the Anglo-Saxons, (2nd ed., 2 vols.) London, 1807, II, p. 5: The historian was Symmachus.

238.8 They brought with them the oriental religion of the Druids] See Sharon Turner, op. cit., I, 20-23, supplemented by Dugald Stewart, "Davies's Celtic Researches," Edinburgh Review, IV, no. 8 (July, 1804), pp. 386-399, esp. 392-393.

238.19 The Asiatic Cimmerians dwelt underground] See Sharon Turner, op. cit., I, 6-7.

238.21 much such people as are now found in the Pacific Islands] Emerson became acquainted with Capt. James Cook's Voyages shortly after leaving Harvard. (See Emerson's Early Reading List, 1819-1824, p. 8.) He regularly read in the English reviews such articles as Robert Southey, "Accounts of the Tonga Islands," Quarterly Review, XVII, no. 33 (April, 1817), pp. 1-39.

238.28 The word Be is...of...high antiquity...come to us from Mt. Caucasus.] Sharon Turner, op. cit., II, 463, remarks: "The verb beo seems to have been derived from the Cimmerian or Celtic language, which was the earliest that appeared in Europe...." In his "Introduction" (I, 1-11) he dwells on the emergence of the "Kimmerians" from Asia by way of the Bosphorus, making observations that might have led Emerson himself to choose "Mt. Caucasus," which formerly was believed to mark the boundary between Asia and Europe. In his outline for this lecture he named "Constantinople" rather than "Caucasus."

239.4 a distinct class of Bards. Aneurin...Llywarch Hen...Taliessin ...about the period of Arthur] See Sharon Turner, op. cit., I, 23, 110-123.

240.18 A poem of Llywarch Hen's...Cynddylan] See Llywarc Hen, The Heroic Elegies and Other Pieces (with a literal tr. by William Owen, afterwards Owen Pugh), London, 1792, pp. 70-105 ("Elegy on Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn"), stanzas 18, 19, 21, 24, and 30. For the influence of this elegy upon Emerson's poetry, see Cameron, "The Significance of Emerson's Second Merlin Song," E S Q, No. 2 (I Quarter 1956), pp. 2-7.

241.2 Silent breathing gale...Since Urien is no more] See Llywarc Hen, The Heroic Elegies, ed. cit., pp. 23-43 ("Elegy on Urien Reged") esp. stanza 39 on p. 39: Emerson changes "scarcely" (of the second line) to "scarce."

> Silent breathing gale, long wilt thou be heard!
> There is scarcely another deserving praise,
> Since Urien is no more!

241.11 whose fortune it has been to enlist all the poetic sympathies of his countrymen, though Saxon themselves, ever since.] I believe the sentence should read: "...ever since Spenser." (See note on line 306.25.) Edmund Spenser's allegorized treatment of Arthur in the plan of the Faerie Queene raised the king of the romances and of Mallory's Morte d'Arthur to a new position in British mythology—a position he continued to hold. The key words in the sentence are all and poetic. Emerson believed, apparently, that Arthur came home to England only after magnification in French romances. See Sir Walter Scott, "An Essay on Romance" (First pub. in the Supplement to the Encyclopaedia Britannica), The Miscellaneous Prose Works, (6 vols.) Boston, 1829, VI, 100-163, esp. p. 151: "How the French minstrels came originally by the traditional relics concerning Arthur and Merlin, on which they wrought so long and so largely, must, we fear, always remain uncertain. From the Saxons we may conclude they had them not; for the Saxons were the very enemies against whom Arthur employed his good sword Excalibar; that is to say, if there was such a man, or such a weapon. We know, indeed, that the British, like all the branches of the Celtic race, were much attached to poetry and music, which the numerous relics of ancient poetry in Wales, Ireland, and the Highlands of Scotland, sufficiently evince. Arthur, a name famous among them, with some traditions concerning the sage Merlin, may have floated either in Armorica, or among the half-British of the borders of Scotland, and of Cumberland; and, thus preserved, may have reached the ear of the Norman minstrels, either in their newly-conquered dominions, or through their neighbours of Britanny [sic]. A theme of this sort once discovered, and found acceptable to the popular ear, gave rise, of course, to a thousand imitations; and gradually drew around it a cloud of fiction which, embellished by such poetry as the minstrels could produce, arranged itself by degrees into a system of fabulous history, as the congregated vapours touched by the setting sun, assume the form of battlements and towers." Emerson may have known this essay as well as James Beattie's "On Fable and Romance," The works of James Beattie, (10 vols.) Phila., 1809, III, pp. 1-113. As for the special significance of Spenser in consolidating the Arthurian mythology in English poetry, Emerson knew, from college days, Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser (many editions). See the index of this work for references to Arthur. See also Warton's "Dissertation: Of the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe," The History of English Poetry (1824), I, lxxiii: "Amid the gloom of superstition, in an age of the grossest ignorance and credulity, a taste for the wonders of oriental fiction was introduced by the Arabians into Europe.... These

fictions, coinciding with the reigning manners, and perpetually kept up and improved in the tales of troubadours and minstrels, seem to have centered about the eleventh century in the ideal histories of Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth, which record the supposititious atchievements of Charlemagne and king Arthur, where they formed the groundwork of that species of fabulous narrative called romance. And from these beginnings or causes, afterwards enlarged and enriched...that singular and capricious mode of imagination arose, which at length composed the marvellous machineries of the more sublime Italian poets, and of their disciple Spenser."

241.13 The old romance of Brut..., "In short God has not made since Adam...the man more perfect than Arthur."] Variant of a quotation from Layamon's Brut, adapted from Wace's French metrical romance, which, in turn, had been based upon Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia. See Sharon Turner, op. cit., I, 101, note 20. The original reads:

Nas nevere þe man ibore	or	Nif nauer þe mon iboren
ne of womman icore		of nauer nane burde icoren
þat conne of þan soþe		þe cunne of þan soðe
of Arthur segge more.		of Arðure sugen mare.

These I take from Lazamons Brut, or Chronicle of Britain, now first pub. from the Cottonian MSS. by Sir Frederic Madden, (3 vols.) London, 1847, p. 145.

242.26 a defect of will, as perhaps exists in modern Germany] Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 30ff.

243.3 the children of the convicts of Botany Bay...have a healthful conscience...equally with the children of virtuous parents] Emerson read much on this subject in the reviews. See, e.g., "The Australian Colonies," Quarterly Review, XXXII, no. 64 (Oct., 1825), pp. 311-342, esp. 322-323. Emerson also refers to this interesting fact in the unpublished sermons.

243.8 Out of the strong came forth sweetness.] Cf. 77.35. This is the riddle which Samson put to the Philistines at the time of his first marriage. See Judges 14:12-18. The complete riddle (verse 14) was: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." For background, see Judges 14:5-9.

243.22 They [the bards and gleemen] succeeded in making infamous... the profession of piracy] See Sharon Turner, op. cit., II, 116-125, esp. 124: "Human reason is never slow to amend its erring associations, when once the beam of light occurs to it, and nothing can more strongly paint the progressive change of manners, than the rapid degradation of the meaning of the word vikingr...fast to become a synonime of the robber. Poets, who often stamp the morals of ages, and who always influence the population of the day, began to brand it with that opprobrium, which, from their numbers, falls with the most deterring effect."

243.27 The earls of dead Edward fell] Emerson drew his text from Warton, The History of English Poetry (1824), I, xc-ci, omitting lines 1-12, improvising on lines 13-19, skipping 20-23, adding a word to 24, combining 30-31, skipping 34-129, and slightly modifying 130-146. I give Warton's version of the lines Emerson adapted because they offer an excellent example of Emerson's tendency to improve the rhetoric, word order and smoothness of his sources. (The emendations, brackets and parentheses are Warton's.)

(the) children of Edward.
Such [so] was to them (their native)
nobility,
from (their) ancestors,
that they in [at] battle oft,
against every foe [loathed one],
(the) land preserved,
hoard and homes,
...
The field————,
with warriors' blood,
since the sun up,
on morrow-tide,
mighty planet
glided over grounds,
bright candle of God,
of the eternal Lord;
till the noble creature,
sank to (her) seat [settle].
...

Nor was (there) a greater slaughter,
on this island,
ever yet,
of folk felled,
before this,
by (the) sword's edges,
of that that say to us (in) books,
old historians,
since eastward hither,
Angles and Saxons,
up came,
over (the) broad seas,
Britain sought,
splendid war-smiths,
overcame (the) Welsh,
earls exceeding bold [keen],
obtained (the) earth.

245.28 The wind is swiftest in the sky] One should compare these sentences with the source (Turner, op. cit., II, 324-325) to observe how Emerson omitted words, skipped lines, and modified capitalization.

248.23 the repetition...familiar to us in the Hebrew poetry] See note on 218.12. Emerson probably knew a volume brought home by his brothers: John Gottfried von Herder, Oriental Dialogues: Containing the Conversations of Eugenius and Alciphron on the Spirit and Beauties of the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, London, 1801. Among the still "new books" in 1835 was James Marsh's edition of the foregoing, entitled The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, (2 vols.) Burlington, Vt., 1833.

249.3 In the Lord's Prayer of sixty-nine words only five are not Saxon] See James Mackintosh et al., The Cabinet History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, (3 vols.) Phila. (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopedia, vols. 3, 6, 22) 1830, 1831, 1833 [owned by Emerson], p. 77: "Of the sixty-nine words which make up the Lord's Prayer, there are only five not Saxon;—the best example of the natural bent of our language, and of the words apt to be chosen by those who speak and write it without design." On the Lord's Prayer," see also 284.32.

249.10 A certain gravity in the constitution tending...to melancholy] Discussed in Sharon Turner, op. cit., II, chap. VII ("Their Conviviality and Amusements"), pp. 73ff.

249.13 Saxons were noticed to mark time by nights and winters] Cf. 252.4. See Sharon Turner, op. cit., II, 24: "In their computation of time, our ancestors reckoned by nights instead of days, and by winters instead of years."

249.15 taciturnity...a satirist has called "a silent fury."] Not located. Cf. Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel, Pt. I, line 1005: "Beware the fury of a patient man."

249.16 Another trait is Humor, in a grave nature, a sense of the ludicrous.] See note on 275.16.

249.22 proverb...the French invented the ruffle and the English added

he shirt] Emerson quoted a variant in his Lecture on France (1856): The Frenchman invented the dickey (false front), the Englishman added he shirt." I have been unable to discover a use prior to the period of he Early Lectures.

249.32 A respect for birth.] Discussed in Turner, op. cit., II, 90-102 ("Classes and Condition of Society").

249.33 A respect for women.] Discussed in Turner, op. cit., II, 82-89 ("Their Marriages") et passim. Cf. 193.34.

250.1 Goethe...of all history...remembers nothing but a few anecdotes] Not located. Cf. Journals, III, 552-553; E T E, I, 352, note 170.

250.6 the story of Croesus and Solon] See Plutarch's Lives, tr. John and William Langhorne, (3 vols.) London, 1812, ("Solon"), I, 182-183: "Solon...is said to have gone to Sardis, at the request of Croesus; and when...he was conducted into the presence, he found the king set off with whatever can be imagined curious or valuable...in order that the grandeur and variety of the scene might be as striking as possible. Solon...was not at all surprised, nor did he pay those compliments that were expected.... When he had seen all...Croesus asked him, If he had ever beheld a happier man than he? Solon answered, He had, and that the person was one Tellus, a plain but worthy citizen of Athens, who left valuable children behind him; and who...died gloriously fighting for his country.... Solon unwilling to exasperate him more, replied, King of Lydia, as God has given the Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise he has favoured them with a democratic spirit, and a liberal kind of wisdom, which has no taste for the splendours of royalty. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life suffer us not to be elated by any present good fortune, or to admire that felicity which is liable to change. Futurity carries for every man many various and uncertain events in its bosom. He, therefore, whom heaven blesses with success to the last, is in our estimation the happy man. But the happiness of him who still lives, and has the dangers of life to encounter, appears to us no better than that of a champion, before the combat is determined, and while the crown is uncertain. With these words Solon departed, leaving Croesus chagrined, but not instructed.

250.7 the sayings of Diogenes] Cf. 299.33ff. and 359.5. Emerson's favorites included the following: See Plutarch's Morals, tr. from the Greek by Several Hands [Matthew Morgan et al.], (5 vols.) London, 1718 [owned by Emerson], "Concerning the Cure of Anger," I, 51: "But rather assume [the attitude of] Diogenes, to himself; who, when one said to him, they deride thee, O Diogenes; made answer, but I am not derided...." [Those only are ridiculed who feel it and are undone by it.] See also Plutarch's "Life of Fabius Maximus."——"Of the Tranquillity of the Mind," I, 159: "That Saying of Diogenes extreamly pleaseth me, who seeing one sprucing himself up very neatly to go to a great Entertainment, asked him, Whether every Day was not a Festival to a good Man?" Cf. Nature (1836), 12.20.——"How a Young Man Ought to Hear or Read Poems," II, 56: "[The Example] of Diogenes may well be returned, who being asked By what means a Man might revenge himself upon his Enemy? answered, By becoming himself a good and honest Man."——"How to Know a Flatterer from a Friend," II, 142: "...Diogenes...entering Philip's Camp...the King...ask'd him, If he was a Spy? Why yes truly, said he, I am a Spy upon your Folly and Imprudence, who without any necessity upon you, are come hither to expose your Kingdoms and your Life to the uncertain Decision of the Cast of a Dye." Cf. also III, 63.——"Of Man's Progress in Vertue," II, 453: "None can

eny, but that it was very great in Diogenes, to compare his Shifting from the City of Corinth to Athens, and from Thebes to Corinth, to the ing of Persia's taking his Progress in the Spring to Susis, in Winter to Babylon, and to Media in Summer."——II, 456: "Diogenes...when he saw a boy drink out of the Palm of his Hand, he threw away his Dish, which he used to carry always with him in his Wallet."——II, 462-463: "Diogenes ...said, That whosoever would be certainly and constantly in the right, must get either a vertuous good Friend, or an incensed ill natured Enemy to his Monitor; the one by gentle admonition to reprove and perswade him; the other to work upon him by severity, and awe him into a vertuous course of Life."——II, 463-464: "'Twas handsomely said of Diogenes, when he saw a young Spark coming out of a Tavern, who at the sight of him drew back: Do not retire, says he, for the more you go backward, the more you will be in the Tavern."——"Of Banishment, or Flying One's Country," III, 52: "Diogenes...when one told him the Sinopians have condemned thee to fly from Pontus (having banished thee) and I, replied he, condemned them to stay in Pontus.—Close Prisoners there to be, / At th'utmost shore of the fierce Euxine Sea."——III, 58-59: "...you may add that Privilege Diogenes bragg'd of, when he said, Aristotle dines when it seems good to King Philip, but Diogenes when he himself pleases, having no Business, no Magistrate, no Prefect to interrupt and disturb his custom[r]y way of Living." ——III, 61: "Was Diogenes ignominious, when Alexander, who saw him sitting and sunning himself, came and ask'd him, whether he wanted any thing, and he answered him, that he lacked nothing, but that he would go a little aside, and not stand in his Light? The King admiring the Presence of his Mind turned to his Followers and said, If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." (See also Plutarch's "Life of Alexander.")

Emerson found Diogenes well represented among Bacon's "Apophthegms," on pp. 1-75 of The Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon...Now first collected into one volume, London, 1802 [one of the volumes in Bacon's Works, ed. Peter Shaw, (12 vols.) London, 1802-1803]: (p. 37) "Diogenes begging, as divers philosophers then used, did beg more of a prodigal man, than of the rest which were present. Whereupon one said to him; see your baseness, that when you find a liberal mind, you will take most of him. No, said Diogenes, but I mean to beg of the rest again." (p. 39) "Diogenes having seen that the kingdom of Macedon, which before was contemptible and low, began to come aloft when he died, was asked how he would be buried? He answered; with my face downward: for within a while the world will be turned upside down, and then I shall lie right." (p. 43) "Diogenes, when mice came about him, as he was eating, said; I see, that even Diogenes nourisheth parasites." (p. 45) "Plato entertained some of his friends at a dinner, and had in the chamber a bed, a couch, neatly and costly furnished. Diogenes came in, and got up upon the bed, and trampled it, saying; I trample upon the pride of Plato. Plato mildly answered, but with greater pride, Diogenes." (p. 60) "Diogenes was one day in the marketplace, with a candle in his hand, and being ask'd; What he sought? he said, He sought a man." (p. 66) "Diogenes said of a young man that danced daintily, and was much commended; The better, the worse." "Diogenes seeing one that was a bastard, casting stones among the people, bad him take heed, he hit not his father." (p. 69) "Diogenes was asked in a kind of scorn; What was the matter, that philosophers haunted rich men, and not rich men philosophers? he answered; Because the one knew what they wanted, the other did not."

See also a fictionalized Diogenes: Walter Savage Landor, "Diogenes and Plato," Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen, (2nd ser., 2 vols.) London, 1829, [Emerson read it at the Boston Athenaeum], I, 464-465: "The great man is he who hath nothing to fear and nothing to hope from another. It is he who, while he demonstrates the iniquity of

the laws, and is able to correct them, obeys them peaceably. It is he who looks on the ambitious both as weak and fraudulent. It is he who hath no disposition or occasion for any kind of deceit, no reason for being or for appearing different from what he is. It is he who can call together the most select company when it pleases him."——I, 465-466: "My thoughts are my company: I can bring them together, select them, detain them, dismiss them. Imbecile and vicious men cannot do any of these things."——I, 473: "Him I would call the powerful one, who controls the storms of his mind, and turns to good account the worst accidents of his fortune. The great man...is somewhat more. He must be able to do this, and he must have that intellect which puts into motion the intellect of others."

Most of these stories—and many more—appear in Diogenes Laertius' "Diogenes." (Which of the many editions Emerson used is uncertain.) Harvard owned such translations (or augmentations) of Laertius as: The Lives of the Ancient Philosophers...Extracted from Diogenes Laertius, Causabon... with an Appendix containing the Lives...taken from Eunapius. And an Account of the Women Philosophers, Written originally in Latin by AEg. Menagius to Madam Dacier, London, 1702; The Lives, Opinions, and Remarkable Sayings of the Most Famous Ancient Philosophers...Made English by Several Hands, (2 vols.) London, 1688; (2 vols.) London, 1696; several works with similar titles have been attributed to Fenelon: Emerson had in his library: Abrégé de la Vie des plus illustres Philosophes de l'Antiquité ...attribué à F. de Salignac de la Motte de Fénélon, (nouv. éd.) Paris, 1822, in which appeared the following: "Il aperçut, en se promenant, une femme tellement prosternée devant les dieux, qu'elle en étoit même découverte par derrière; Diogène accourut à elle: Ne crains-tu pas, pauvre femme, lui dit-il, que les Dieux qui sont aussi bien derrière toi que devant, ne te voient dans une posture indécente." [This appears on p. 173 in the Abrégé des Vies des Anciens Philosophes, published in London, 1832]

250.7 the egg of Columbus] See Washington Irving, The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, (abridged ed.), end of chap. XV ("Reception of Columbus by the Spanish Sovereigns at Barcelona" [1493]). See the edition of London, 1830, pp. 118-119: "At one of the banquets which were given him occurred the well-known circumstance of the egg. A shallow courtier present, impatient of the honours paid to Columbus, and meanly jealous of him as a foreigner, abruptly asked him, whether he thought that, in case he had not discovered the Indies, there would have been wanting men in Spain capable of the enterprise. To this Columbus made no direct reply, but, taking an egg, invited the company to make it stand upon one end. Every one attempted it, but in vain; whereupon he struck it upon the table, broke one end, and left it standing on the broken part; illustrating, in this simple manner, that when he had once shown the way to the new world, nothing was easier than to follow it." Emerson used the Boston Library Society copy—(1st ed., 3 vols.) N.Y., 1828.

250.8 Alfred and the herdsman's wife] See Sharon Turner, op. cit., I, 256-257: "In his wanderings, he beheld the humble cottage of a swineherd, and he entered it a lonely exile.... One Sunday, when the peasant had led his herd to their usual pasture, his wife prepared her fire to make their rustic bread, called loudas, against his return. Other domestic business requiring her attention, she committed her cakes to ...the king.... Alfred...forgot his allotted task, and suffered the bread to burn. The woman...poured out invectives.... He subdued his angry passions so effectually, as to answer mildly...applied himself with attention to the new and homely labour, and carefully baked his severe hostess's bread. He afterwards made [the peasant] bishop of Winchester."

250.9 Canute on the seashore] See Sharon Turner, op. cit., I, 437-

438: "The more he gazed on nature, the more he felt the adorable Being who governed him, as well as his people; the more he was humbled with the conviction of his individual insignificance. To communicate his solemn sensations, with all their impressions, to his adulating friends, he ordered the chair of his dignity to be placed on the sea beach.... 'Ocean, the island on which I sit is mine, and thou art a part of my dominion. None of my subjects dare to resist my orders; I therefore command thee, that thou ascend not my coasts, nor presume to wet the borders of my robes.' In vain the mandate issued. He was not the master whom the waters reverenced; and in contempt of his authority, every wave drew nearer to his feet.... It was then that he expressed the noble sentiment, which monopolized his mind. 'Let every dweller upon the earth confess that the power of kings is frivolous and vain. HE only is the Great Supreme, let HIM only be honoured with the name of Majesty, whose nod, whose everlasting laws, the heavens, the earth, and sea, with all their hosts, obey.' In conformity to this sublime feeling, Canute would never afterwards wear his crown."

251.35 in the light of the national mind] For the pervasive influence of Victor Cousin, see the note on 225.14.

252.4 measured time by nights and by winters] See the note on 249.13.

252.18 gave him in the early histories the surname of the Truth Teller] See Sharon Turner, op. cit., I, 309: "An author who lived at the period of the Norman conquest, in mentioning some of the preceding kings with short appropriate epithets, names Alfred, with the simple but expressive addition of 'the truth teller.'" The note assigns this to a Hermannus (fl. 1070), who says at one point: "Elueredi Veridici."

252.21 his immense curiosity about distant countries] See Sharon Turner, op. cit., I, 310ff., esp. 313-315.

255.11 a period of proper childhood] See Henry W. Longfellow, "Old English Romances," cited in the note on 256.10.

255.33 Their eyes were holden that they could not see] An allusion to the pilgrims who encountered the resurrected Jesus on the road to Emmaus. See Luke 24:15——"And it came to pass, that while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad?"

256.6 pilgrimages to countries never found in a map...unknown antagonists...combat for ladies whom they never saw] Emerson took the following passage from John von Müller, Universal History, tr. from the German, (4 vols.) Boston (American Lib. of Useful Knowledge), 1831-1832: "... the nobility performed pilgrimages to countries that could never be found in a map and amused themselves by defying persons unknown to them to mortal combat for ladies whom they had never seen."

256.10 The romances...gay or terrible or absurd adventures] Emerson seems thoroughly to have digested John Colin Dunlop, The History of Fiction: being a Critical Account of the Most Celebrated Prose Works of Fiction, from the Earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Age, (3 vols.) London, 1814; (2nd ed., 3 vols.) Edinburgh, 1816. (See E T E, II, 158, 174.) Emerson also seems to have read with profit: Henry W. Longfellow's "Old English Romances," North American Review, XXXVII, no.

FINISHED

By LEONARD B. GRAY

Quite late at night he got up from his desk
And looked at his completed history.
How he had longed for this relief through years
Of tedious search in books and newspapers,
Of making piles of countless notes and from
These piles selecting what was best to use,
Of careful writing many days and then
Rewriting much with equal thought and care!
How good it was to feel his burden fall
From him! He lit his pipe and went outside
And saw the silent stars look down on him
And felt the freedom of the cool, large night.
But soon there strangely came into his heart
A sense of loneliness. He knew at last
What living with his book had meant to him.

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. (Oct., 1833), 374-419. For modern help in tracing motifs in medieval omances—some of which Emerson mentions on pp. 250-257—see: W. Wägner, pics and Romances of the Middle Ages, ed. W. S. W. Anson, N.Y., 1917; . A. Clouston, Popular Tales and Fictions: Their Migrations and Transormations, (2 vols.) London, 1887.

256.13 the giant, the dwarf, and the fairy] On these subjects, Emerson valued: Francis Cohen, "Popular Mythology of the Middle Ages," Quarterly Review, XXII, no. 44 (Jan., 1820), pp. 349-380; Francis Cohen, Antiquities of Nursery Literature," Quarterly Review, XXI, no. 41 (Jan., 819), pp. 91-112; Thomas Wright, "The National Fairy Mythology of England," Fraser's Magazine, X, no. 55 (July, 1834), 51-62. Emerson does ot here seem to be much indebted—if at all—to three books that were ithin his reach (the second containing a chapter on "The Fairy Mythology—Middle Age Romance"): John Brand, Observations on Popular Antiquiies [including the whole of Henry Bourne's Antiquitates Vulgares], London, 1810; Thomas Keightley, The Fairy Mythology; Illustrative of the omance and Superstition of Various Countries, (2 vols.) London, 1833; oseph Ritson, ed., Fairy Tales, now first collected; to which are prefixed two dissertations: 1 On Pygmies, 2 On Fairies, London, 1831. merson had access to, but apparently did not use, Robert Kirk, An Essay f the Nature and Actions of the Subterranean (and, for the most part) invisible People, heretofore going under the name of Elves, Faunes and airies...with an Appendix, consisting of extracts from a Treatise on Second Sight by Theophilus Insulanus, Edinburgh...London, 1815. This work as later reprinted under the title: The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, auns & Fairies. A Study in Folk-lore and Psychical Research. The Text y Robert Kirk...1691. The Comment by A. Lang, 1893, London, 1893.

256.17 tale of the wandering Jew] See note on 256.10.

256.17 the giant Ritho...in a robe woven of the beards of the kings] ee Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry (1824), I, xvi, and Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, (2nd ed., 2 vols.) ondon, 1762, I, 24-26 and 32.

256.19 monsters and monster killers...a whole rookery flew from the iant's beard] See note on 256.10.

256.26 "The fire was great, it made the island light."] The quotation marks seem to have been supplied by the editors. If it really be quotation, I have not yet located it.

256.29 Mahomet's Angel...in heaven...seventy days' journey from one f his eyes to the other] Cf. George Bush, The Life of Mohammed, N.Y. (Harper's Family Library, no. 10) 1831, pp. 93-94: "The second heaven as of pure gold, and contained twice as many angels as the former. mong these was one of such vast dimensions, that the distance between is eyes was equal to the length of seventy thousand days [sic] journey .... In this heaven the number of angels...exceeded that of all the ther departments, and among them was one who had seventy thousand heads, in every head seventy thousand mouths, in every mouth seventy thousand tongues, in every tongue seventy thousand voices, with which day and night he was incessantly employed praising God!" [The foregoing is taken from the Prophet's fictitious night journey through the Seven Heavens.]

256.32 invisible powder to hide the hero] See note on 256.10. Fern seed accomplishes the same thing in Sir Walter Scott's "On the Fairies of Popular Superstition" in his Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, (5th ed., 3 vols.) Edinburgh, 1821, II, 131-132.

257.1 crystal mirrors that show his friend] See Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, ed. cit., I, 148-149. See also note on 256.10.

257.1 amulets that keep off disease] See note on 256.10.

257.2 rings that telegraph an enemy] See note on 256.10.

257.2 swords that fight...of themselves] See note on 256.10.

257.3 shoes that walk of themselves] See note on 256.10.

257.3 faery mothers] See note on 256.10.

257.3 inexhaustible purses] See 178.11. Also Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry (1824), I, (67) for a discussion of the tale of "Fortunatus," in which "an inexhaustible purse is made to meet the demands of every occasion...a daily provision of gold"—a variation of the story of the goose that laid golden eggs—and of the "widow's cruse of oil" mentioned in 2 Kings 4. See note on 256.10.

257.11 Many of them...printed by Ellis...Ritson] See, e.g., Pierre Jean Baptiste Legrand D'Aussy, Fabliaux or Tales, abridged from French MSS. of the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries. With preface and notes by George Ellis, London, 1796; anr. ed., 2 vols., London, 1800; anr. ed., 3 vols., London, 1815.——See Joseph Ritson, Fairy Tales, Now First Collected, London, 1831. See Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances...to which is prefixed an Historical Introduction, intended to illustrate the Rise and Progress of Romantic Composition in France and England, by George Ellis, (3 vols.) London, 1805.

257.26 Those...creations of the Imagination; these...of the Fancy.] Emerson here is applying Coleridge's important distinction. See E T E, 91-92 and 195. Cf. Journals, III, 525-526.) Shortly after Emerson left Harvard, this terminology began to appear in the periodicals he regularly read. E.g., "Poetry," Edinburgh Review, XLII, no. 83 (Apr., 1825), pp. 31-64, esp. 36-38: "Imagination differs from Fancy, inasmuch as it does by a single glance what the latter effects by deliberate comparison. Generally speaking, imagination deals with the passions and the higher moods of the mind. It is the fiercer and more potent spirit; and the images are flung out of its burning grasp, as it were, molten, and massed together. It is a complex power, including those faculties which are called by metaphysicians—Conception, Abstraction, and Judgment. It is the genius of personification. It concentrates the many into the one, colouring and investing its own complex creation with the attributes of all. It multiplies and divides and remodels, always changing in one respect or other the literal fact, and always enriching it, when properly exerted. It merges ordinary nature and literal truth in the atmosphere which it exhales, till they come forth like the illuminations of sunset, which were nothing but clouds before. It acts upon all things drawn within its range; sometimes in the creation of character (as in Satan and Ariel, &c.), and sometimes in figures of speech and common expression. It is different in different people; in Shakespeare, bright and rapid as lightning, fusing things by its power; in Milton, awful as collected thunder. It peoples the elements with fantastic forms, and fills the earth with unearthly heroism, intellect, and beauty. It is the parent of all those passionate creations which Shakespeare has bequeathed to us. It is the origin of that terrible generation of Milton,—Sin, and the shadowy Death, Rumour, and Discord with its thousand tongues, Night and Chaos....

is an intense and burning power.... Fancy, on the other hand, is generally (but not always) glittering and cold—the preparatory machinery of poetry, without its passion; sporting with sights which catch the eye only, and sounds which play but on the ear. It proceeds upon a principle of assimilation, and irradiates an idea with similes; but it leaves the original thought untouched, and merely surrounds it with things which ornament, without either hiding or changing it. Fancy seems like an afterthought, springing out of the original idea: but the Imagination is born with it, coequal, inextricable, like the colour and the shape of a flower. Imagination, indeed, is as it were a condensation of the Fancy; acting directly on the idea, and investing it with qualities to which it is the business of Fancy to compare it."

257.34 The ancients relate that man was the work of Prometheus and formed of clay] Emerson draws his account of Prometheus almost verbatim from Bacon's "The Mythology of the Ancients, Decyphered and Explained," The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. and tr. Peter Shaw, (12 vols.) London, 1802-1803, V, 13-17. Compare Emerson's text with Bacon's, which is given in the following:

THE FABLE OF PROMETHEUS;

EXPLAINED OF AN OVER-RULING PROVIDENCE, AND OF HUMAN NATURE.

THE ancients relate that man was the work of Prometheus, and formed of clay; only the artificer mixed in with the mass, particles taken from different animals. And being desirous to improve his workmanship, and endow, as well as create, the human race; he stole up to heaven with a bundle of birch rods, and kindling them at the chariot of the Sun, thence brought down fire to the earth, for the service of men.

They add, that for this meritorious act, Prometheus was repayed with ingratitude by mankind; so that, forming a conspiracy, they accused both him and his invention to Jupiter. But the matter was otherwise received, than they imagined: for the accusation proved extremely grateful to Jupiter, and the gods; insomuch, that delighted with the action, they not only indulged mankind the use of fire; but moreover conferred upon them a most acceptable and desirable present, viz. perpetual youth.

But men, foolishly overjoyed hereat, laid this present of the gods upon an ass, who, in returning back with it, being extremely thirsty, and coming to a fountain, the serpent, who was guardian thereof, would not suffer him to drink, but upon condition of receiving the burden he carried, whatever it should be. The silly ass complied; and thus the perpetual renewal of youth was, for a sup of water, transferred from men to the race of serpents.

Prometheus, not desisting from his unwarrantable practices, though now reconciled to mankind, after they were thus tricked of their present, but still continuing inveterate against Jupiter, had the boldness to attempt deceit, even in a sacrifice; and is said to have once offered up two bulls to Jupiter, but so, as in the hide of one of them, to wrap all the flesh and fat of both, and stuffing out the other hide only with the bones; then in a religious and devout manner, gave Jupiter his choice of the two. Jupiter detesting this sly fraud and hypocrisy, but having thus an opportunity of punishing the offender, purposely chose the mock bull.

And now giving way to revenge, but finding he could not chastise the insolence of Prometheus, without afflicting the human race, (in the production whereof, Prometheus had strangely and insufferably prided himself,) he commanded Vulcan to form a beautiful and graceful woman; to whom every god presented a certain gift; when she was called Pandora.* They put into

* As if it were all gift.

her hands an elegant box, containing all sorts of miseries and misfortunes: but hope was placed at the bottom of it. With this box she first goes to Prometheus, to try if she could prevail upon him to receive and open it; but he being upon his guard, warily refused the offer. Upon this refusal, she comes to his brother, Epimetheus, a man of a very different temper, who rashly and inconsiderately opens the box. When finding all kinds of miseries and misfortunes issued out of it, he grew wise too late; and with great hurry and struggle endeavoured to clap the cover on again: but with all his endeavour, could scarce keep in Hope, which lay at the bottom.

Lastly, Jupiter arraigned Prometheus of many heinous crimes; as that he formerly stole fire from heaven; that he contemptuously, and deceitfully, mocked him by a sacrifice of bones; that he despised his present;* adding withal a new crime, that he attempted to ravish Pallas: for all which, he was sentenced to be bound in chains, and doomed to perpetual torments. Accordingly, by Jupiter's command, he was brought to Mount Caucasus, and there fastened to a pillar, so firmly, that he could no way stir. A vulture, or eagle stood by him, which in the day-time gnawed and consumed his liver; but in the night the wasted parts were supplied again: whence matter for his pain was never wanting.

They relate, however, that his punishment had an end; for Hercules sailing the ocean, in a cup, or pitcher, presented him by the Sun, came at length to Caucasus; shot the eagle with his arrows; and set Prometheus free. In certain nations also there were instituted particular games of the Torch, to the honour of Prometheus; in which they, who run for the prize, carried lighted torches; and as any one of these torches happened to go out, the bearer withdrew himself, and gave way to the next; and that person was allowed to win the prize, who first brought in his lighted torch to the goal.

* Viz. that by Pandora.

259.1 fables...which seem rather to have been gradually formed by the additions of successive poets...a collection of...allegories] See the "Critique upon the Mythology of the Ancients," The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. and tr. Peter Shaw, (12 vols.) London, 1802-1803, V, p. 6: "But whoever attentively considers the thing, will find that these fables were delivered down, and related by those writers, not as matters then first invented and proposed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages. Besides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the same ages, it is easily perceived that the relators drew from the common stock of ancient tradition; and varied but in point of embellishment, which is their own. And this principally raises my esteem of these fables; which I receive, not as the product of the age, or invention of the poets, but as sacred reliques, gentle whispers, and the breath of better times; that from the traditions of more ancient nations came, at length, into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks." Cf. 290.33.

259.5 Lord Bacon has drawn out...a consistent sense...Providence] Bacon treats it on pp. 17-32. I give here only the beginning:

EXPLANATION.

THIS fable contains and enforces many just and serious considerations; some whereof have been, long since, well observed; but some again remain perfectly untouched. Prometheus clearly and expressly signifies Providence; for of all the things in nature, the formation and endowment of man was singled out by the ancients,

and esteemed the peculiar work of Providence. The reason hereof seems, 1. That the nature of man includes a mind and understanding, which is the seat of Providence; 2. That it is harsh and incredible, to suppose reason and mind should be raised, and drawn out of senseless and irrational principles; whence it become almost inevitable, that providence is implanted in the human mind; in conformity with, and by the direction and the design of the greater over-ruling Providence. But, 3. The principal cause is this; that man seems to be the thing, in which the whole world centers, with respect to final causes; so that if he were away, all other things would stray and fluctuate, without end or intention; or become perfectly disjoined, and out of frame. For all things are made subservient to man; and he receives use and benefit from them all. Thus the revolutions, places, and periods, of the celestial bodies, serve him for distinguishing times and seasons; and for dividing the world into different regions: the meteors afford him prognostications of the weather; the winds sail our ships, drive our mills, and move other machines; and the vegetables and animals of all kinds, either afford us matter for houses and habitations, cloathing, food, physic, or tend to ease, or delight, support, or refresh us: so that every thing in nature seems not made for itself, but for man.

And it is not without reason added, that the mass of matter, whereof man was formed, should be mixed up with particles taken from different animals, and wrought in with the clay; because, it is certain, that of all things in the universe, man is the most compounded, and recompounded body; so that the ancients not improperly styled him a Microcosm, or little world within himself. For although the chemists have absurdly, and too literally, wrested and perverted the elegance of the term microcosm, whilst they pretend to find all kind of mineral and vegetable matters, or something corresponding to them in man; yet it remains firm and unshaken, that the human body is of all substances the most mixed, and organical: whence it has surprizing powers and faculties. For the powers of simple bodies are but few, though certain and quick; as being little broken, or weakened; and not counterballanced by mixture: But excellence, and quantity of energy, reside in mixture and composition. *

Man, however, in his first origin, seems to be a defenceless, naked creature; slow in assisting himself, and standing in need of numerous things. Prometheus, therefore, hastened to the invention of fire, which supplies and administers to nearly all human uses and necessities; insomuch, that if the soul may be called the form of forms; if the hand may be called the instrument of instruments; fire may, as properly, be called the assistant of assistants, or the helper of helps. For hence proceed numberless operations; hence all the mechanic arts; and hence infinite assistances are afforded to the sciences themselves.

* The instances of this position deserve to be collected. Consider of the mechanical powers, Medicines, poisons, plants, companies, government, arts, the advancement of philosophy, &c.

For Emerson's own allegorical interpretation, see Journals, III, 435, continued in Works, II, 30-31, which concerns a state of mind that, resenting any obligation to reverence another being, would steal fire from somewhere and live apart—independent of the Creator. Emerson was interested also in Landor's remarks on Prometheus. See "Duke de Richelieu, Sir Fire Coats, and Lady Glengrin," Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen, (1st ser., 3 vols.) London, 1826-1828, III, 205: "... the Prometheus is the grandest poetical conception that ever entered into the heart of man.... Critics talk most about the visible in sublim-

ity...the Jupiter, the Neptune. Magnitude and power are sublime but in the second degree, managed as they may be. Where the heart is not shaken, the Gods thunder and stride in vain. True sublimity is the perfection of the pathetic, which has other sources than pity; generosity, for instance, and self-devotion. When the generous and self-devoted man suffers, there comes Pity: the basis of the sublime is then above the water, and the poet, with or without the Gods, can elevate it above the skies."

259.7 the fable of Orpheus] Bacon treats "The Fable of Orpheus; explained of Natural and Moral Philosophy" in The Works, ed. cit., V, 33-38.

259.8 [the fable] of Atalanta] Bacon treats "The Fable of Atalanta and Hippomenes; explained of the Contest betwixt Art and Nature" in The Works, ed. cit., V, 39-41.

259.8 Proteus] Bacon discusses "The Fable of Proteus; explained of Matter and its Changes" in V, 47-50: "This fable seems to point at the secrets of nature, and the states of matter. For the person of Proteus denotes matter, the oldest of all things, after God himself; that resides, as in a cave, under the vast concavity of the heavens. He is represented as the servant of Neptune; because the various operations and modifications of matter, are principally wrought in a fluid state." See 52.8.

259.8 Pan] See "The Fable of Pan Explained of Natural Philosophy" in Bacon's De Augmentis Scientiarum, tr. Peter Shaw, (2 vols.) London, 1803 [part of the set of 12 vols., London, 1802-1803], I, 43-55. Emerson might well have mentioned also the fable of Deucalion and Pyrrha, for it had pertinence to his lectures on scientific subjects: (I, 56-57):

THE FABLE OF DEUCALION:

EXPLAINED OF AN USEFUL HINT IN NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE poets tell us, that the inhabitants of the old world being totally destroyed by the universal deluge, excepting Deucalion and Pyrrha; these two, desiring with zealous and fervent devotion, to restore mankind, received this oracle for answer; that " they should succeed by throwing their mother's bones behind them." This at first cast them into great sorrow and despair; because, as all things were levelled by the deluge, it was in vain to seek their mother's tomb: but at length, they understood the expression of the oracle to signify the stones of the earth, which is esteemed the mother of all things.

EXPLANATION.

THIS fable seems to reveal a secret of nature, and correct an error familiar to the mind; for men's ignorance leads them to expect the renovation or restauration of things, from their corruption and remains; as the Phœnix is said to be restored out of its ashes: which is a very improper procedure; because such kind of materials have finished their course, and are become absolutely unfit to supply the first rudiments of the same things again: whence, in cases of renovation, recourse should be had to more common principles.

259.18 The progress of refinement, Mr. Addison says, has not entirely plucked the old woman out of our hearts.] Cf. 46.4. Not located. Emerson quotes it differently elsewhere: "The progress of philosophy 'has not yet wholly pulled the old woman out of our hearts.'"

259.22 A fairy tale...has...a moral in spite of itself...he has been writing an allegory.] Cf. 375.29 and 31, and note on 290.33.

259.26 he has only been holding the pen for a higher hand] These lines and much on the following two pages reappear, with slight modifications, in "History," Works, II, 34-35. Emerson reworked the catchwords as follows: "The universal nature, too strong for the petty nature of the bard, sits on his neck and writes through his hand; so that when he seems to vent a mere caprice and wild romance, the issue is an exact allegory...." On literary art as "reception," see note on 119.12 and 143.3.

260.11 understanding the voices of birds] See note on 79.29.

260.15 to bend the shows of things to the desires of the mind] See note on 162.23.

260.19 In Perceforest and Amadis de Gaul] Emerson drew almost the exact words from Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry (1824), I, (60): "In Perceforest and in Amadis, a garland and rose, which 'bloom on the head of her who is faithful, and fade upon the brow of the inconstant,' are the proofs of the appellant's purity."

260.22 story of the Boy and the Mantle] A ballad in Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, (in most editions at the beginning and end of vol. III). A boy entered Arthur's court at "Carleile—probably Carlisle in Cumberland—during the Christmas festivities, revealing a mantle which, he said, only a chaste wife could wear. It fell off Guenevere and all the court women, leaving them nude. When only Craddocke's wife (after she had openly declared having kissed him before marriage) found it a perfect fit, Guenevere began accusing her of indiscretions with priests, clerks and husbands. The boy then turned to the King:

> Shee [Guenevere] is a bitch and a witch,
> And a whore bold:
> King, in thine owne hall
> Thou art a cuckold.

Then killing a boar and bringing its head into the court, the boy invited the men to cut it, declaring that no cuckold could do so. Though the knights sharpened their swords on a convenient whetstone, none succeeded by Craddocke, who gave a piece of the head to each of the others. Then the boy produced a drinking horn of reddish gold, and, after declaring that the contents would spill down the front and back of a cuckold, offered it to the knights. Since only Craddocke managed to convey it to his lips, he won the horn and the boar's head; his lady (unnamed) was permitted to keep the mantle. For Ariosto's account of the drinking horn or "enchanted cup" see Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, (2nd ed., 2 vols.) London, 1762, I, 39-40; cf. 54-55.

260.23 triumph of the gentle Genelas] The name of Craddock's wife is not given in Warton or in Thomas Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. In Works, II, 35, Emerson gives the name as "Venelas." I have not solved this mystery.

260.24 a system of fairy ethics that an ingenious reader might collect] Some of the principal motifs are discussed in Francis Cohen, "Popular Mythology of the Middle Ages," loc. cit., 362-363: "There is a philosophy involved in these parables. The consortship of an immortal being is bestowed upon humankind, and the slight tribute of obedience to a single behest, will ensure the happiness of the mortal. But his will is en-

slaved; Destiny allows him not to rise above the frailty of his race by perpetuating the mystic union; and power is given to the evil principle to mock his transient bliss, and to dash away the cup of happiness which had been placed at his lips. The fated thought rankles in his mind, the forbidden word is uttered, and the ethereal intelligence departs for ever, but in sorrow and in mourning. And as she mourns the separation, she yet strives to shed a benignant influence upon the object to whom she was wedded." Emerson seems to have made little or no use of Sir Walter Scott, "On the Fairies of Popular Superstition," prefixed to the "Tale of Tamlane" in Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border or "Letter IV" in his Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft. See note on 332.20. Useful to the modern scholar is: Mary Huse Eastman, Index to Fairy Tales, Myths and Legends, (2nd ed., rev. and enl.) Boston, 1926 + Supplement (1937).

260.25 fairies do not like to be named] Cf. Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, ed. cit., I, 67-68. See note on 256.10. Under certain conditions they do not like intrusion on their privacy. See the account of the fairy Melusina in Scott's "Of the Fairies of Popular Superstition."

260.26 their gifts are capricious and not to be trusted] On the fairies, see note on 256.10.

260.27 who seeks a treasure must not speak] See note on 256.10.

261.11 the ballad of Tamlane] This fairy ballad appears entire in Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, (5th ed., 3 vols.) Edinburgh, 1821, II, 191-205.

261.12 Our size and shape we can convert / To either large or small] Cf. 291.24. In his later works, Emerson dealt with the doctrine of "mosts" and "leasts." See Journals, VII, 523; VIII, 145-146, 236; IX, 306, 558. See Works, IV, 104, 114; VII, 176; IX, 297. Cf. note on 327.33 and 26.3 and 72.22. See Bacon, De Augmentis Scientiarum, tr. Peter Shaw, (2 vols.) London, 1803, I, 72: "...no writer who has treated of much and little, endeavours to assign the cause why some things in nature are so numerous and large, and others so rare and small: for, doubtless, it is impossible in the nature of things, that there should be as great a quantity of gold as of iron; or roses as plenty as grass.... But of these particulars we find no mention in the discourses of transcendentals: for men have rather pursued the quirks of words than the subtilities of things. And therefore we would introduce into primary philosophy, a real and solid enquiry into these transcendentals, or adventitious conditions of beings, according to the laws of nature, not of speech."

261.21 his stature grew with shells of gramarye] The line in Warton, The History of English Poetry (1824), I, (51) reads: "spells of grammary" —i.e., periods of [study of] abstruse learning. (King Laurin in Little Garden of Roses). Cf. Journals, III, 59, for a partial correction but a further error—"Edward Warton" instead of "Thomas Warton."

261.23 the child of genius...borrows his culture from all objects and events] See 285.30 and context; also 286.10-18.

262.7 Books only have life so long as they express the thoughts of living men.] See note on 186.7. Cf. "The American Scholar:" "Books are for the scholar's idle times. When we can read God directly, the hour is too precious to be wasted in other men's transcripts of their readings."

262.27 It [Romantic literature] fell into derision from its own excess] At this point, see "On Fable and Romance," The Works of James Beattie, (10 vols.) Phila., 1809, III, 93-97: "But the final extirpation of chivalry and all its chimeras was now approaching. What laws and force could not accomplish, was brought about by the humour and satire of one writer...Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra...The History of Don Quixote... no sooner appeared, than chivalry vanished, as snow melts before the sun. Mankind awoke as from a dream. They laughed at themselves for having been so long imposed on by absurdity.... It astonished them to find, that nature and good sense could yield a more exquisite entertainment, than they had ever derived from the most sublime phrensies of chivalry .... Don Quixote occasioned the death of the old romance, and gave birth to the new. Fiction henceforth divested herself of her gigantick size, tremendous aspect, and frantick demeanour; and, descending to the level of common life, conversed with man as his equal, and as a polite and cheerful companion."

262.30 moral influence of shrewd and good persons...a sovereign influence on human affairs] Cf. note on 186.7.

264.1 "I tramp in the mire with wooden shoes when they would force me into the clouds."] See Francis Jeffrey, "Madam de Staël," Edinburgh Review, XXXVI, no. 71 (Oct., 1821), pp. 54-82, esp. 61.

264.5 The rain it raineth every day.] Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, V,i,393, 397, 401, 405, 409; Lear, III,ii,77. Emerson omits the conjunctions "For" and "Though."

264.6 The winter song in Love's Labors Lost] See V,ii,907-918.

264.20 Herrick's Ode to Ben Jonson] Emerson acquired his copy of Robert Herrick's Poetical Works, (2 vols.) London, 1825, on Shakespeare's birthday, April 23, 1835.

265.1 Go soul the body's guest] The lines given here from Raleigh's "The Soul's Errand" are apparently copied from memory. (Charles and Edward had brought Raleigh's Works into the home a decade earlier. See Cameron, Emerson and Thoreau as Readers, chap. I.) The principal errors here include: his reversing church and court, his substituting painted for rotten, and his giving does for doth. The last line is incorrect according to the versions I have seen. For the lines as given in George Ellis, Specimens of the Early English Poets, (3 vols.) London, 1824 [copy in Emerson's library] see:

Go, soul, the body's guest,
. . .
Go tell the court it glows,
And shines like rotten wood,
Go, tell the church it shows
What's good, and doth no good;
If church and court reply,
Then give them both the lie.

Cf. an almost correct version in Parnassus, Boston, 1875, pp. 139-140.

265.10 imagery of the Allegro of Milton] Cf. 283.24. In praising the earthiness of this lyric, Emerson passed over the Romance magic of "Il Penseroso," lines 109-120—references to Chaucer's "The Squire's Tale"—which would have weakened his argument somewhat:

Or call up him that left half-told
The story of Cambuscan bold,

Of Camball, and of Algarsife,
And who had Canace to wife,
That owned the virtuous ring and glass,
And of the wondrous horse of brass
On which the Tartar king did ride;
And if aught else great bards beside
In sage and solemn tunes have sung,
Of tourneys, and of trophies hung,
Of forests, and enchantments drear,
Where more is meant than meets the ear.

265.26 The king was to his palace tho the service was ydo] Emerson here modernizes lines 1-10 and 13-14 as given in Warton, The History of English Poetry (1824), I, 53, with mistakes. For a typical error, compare Emerson's line 10 with Warton's (italics mine): "Nom also in ys half a vayr companye," i.e., "brought also on his own part a fair company." Lines 11-12 were probably skipped because of their difficulty.

266.11 Kynde Conscience then heard and came out of the planets] Emerson again somewhat modernized the lines as given in Warton, op. cit., II, 119-120, at one point (line 13) improving the alliteration! Cf. Warton: "As Pockes and Pestilences, and moch peple shente."

266.38 All that be of huert trewe] Of the eleven stanzas printed by Warton (I, 106-109), Emerson copied and modernized only 1, 3, 6, 8, 9.

269.24 Geoffrey Chaucer was born in London....] The source of these biographical data is not yet established. Emerson owned: Canterbury Tales and Other Poems, (2 vols.) London (Cumberland) n.d. His brothers had borrowed from Harvard: The Works (with Chaucer's life), London, 1721; The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, with an Essay...an Introductory Discourse...by Thomas Tyrwitt, Esq., (5 vols.) London, 1830.

271.21 the good once is good always, the excellent is brand new forever] Cf. note on 186.7. This is apparently one of Emerson's own proverbs.

271.22 The average physical strength is so fixed...among thirty jumpers] The periodical literature of the period was filled with the "new science of statistics," to which Emerson referred respectfully in Works, IV, 109; VI, 17. He had, during the preceding April, probably glanced at "State and Defects of British Statistics," Edinburgh Review, LXI (1835), pp. 154-181. Interest in the "science" was stimulated by the works of Thomas Robert Malthus on population and Jeremy Bentham's utilitarianism.

272.4 the representative of the entire humanity of that period] For Victor Cousin's influence, see note on 225.14.

272.5 the Chickasaw chosen...to act for his tribe at Washington... is the object of attention] The background of the political situation that brought representatives of the Chickasaw and other tribes to Washington in the late 1820's and early 1830's in defense of their territories is dealt with in the "Introduction" to Speeches on the Passage of the Bill for the Removal of the Indians, delivered in the Congress of the United States, April and May, 1830, Boston, 1830, pp. iii-viii. For an account of the Chickasaws during this period, see pp. 200-201 of the "Appendix" of Jedidiah Morse, A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs comprising a Narrative of a Tour, New-Haven, 1822:

The territory of the *Chickasaws* is included within the charter ed limits of the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi More than half is in Mississippi. It is bounded west by the Mississippi river; north by the Ohio; east by the Tennessee river, and Alabama Territory, and south by the country of the Choctaws. The boundary line, commences on the Mississippi, a little below Lat. 34° north, proceeds up this river to the entrance of the Ohio; up the Ohio to the junction of the Tennessee; up the Tennessee to Cany Creek, about twenty miles below the Muscle Shoals: up Cany Creek to its source; thence in a line to the Tombigbee; down this river to the mouth of Oketibba, in about Lat. 30°, where it meets the Choctaw line; and from this point in a north-west direction, to its commencement on the Mississippi. A large portion of the country is very fertile and valuable. They have, by late treaties, ceded to the United States, all their lands lying north of the parallel of 35° N. Lat. or the southern boundary of Tennessee. Their present Territory lies wholly in the State of Mississippi.

The number of souls in this tribe is given in the Table. There are four males to one female. This inequality is attributed to the practice of polygamy, which is general in this tribe.

The Chickasaws have always been warm friends of the United States, and are distinguished for their hospitality. Some of the Chiefs are half breed, men of sense, possess numerous negro slaves, and annually sell several hundred cattle and hogs. The nation resides in eight towns, and like their neighbors, are considerably advanced in civilization. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, have in contemplation the speedy establishment of a mission among these Indians, preparations for which are already made. This is done at the earnest solicitation of the nation.*

One of the Synods of the Carolinas, is engaged in planting an Education Family among this Indian nation.

272.15 constitute an individual a sort of Universal Man] See note on 138.9.

272.20 The milk of human kindness] See 307.17. Cf. Shakespeare's Macbeth, I,v,18.

272.24 the adamantine framework of Nature on which all...life is hung] Cf. the note on 224.24.

272.29 it does not argue genius that a man can write well on himself] See note on 308.21, 149.6, 161.19.

272.36 the true Poet quits himself and throws his spirit] See note on 149.6.

273.21 something divine, something of strict inspiration in the language of a genuine bard] See note on 340.7.

274.10 the poet began...to retake that attitude of a prophet and priest] See note on 340.7.

274.19 Even God himself...cannot do without wise men.] See "Comfort for those which are in the Ministerie," Colloquia Mensalia: or, Dr Martin Luther's Divine Discourses, tr. Henry Bell, London, 1652, p. 282: "But you must know that you are called, Christ hath need of you for the prais of Him and His Name, thereupon stand stedfast.... Then said hee, Well, on in God's Name, Our Lord God hath many businesses: Hee hath need also above in Heaven of wise people." Cf. Chapter LXXIII (pp. 508-511): "Of Learned Men."

274.20 truth is the property of no individual...the equal treasure of all men] Since there is one Mind shared by all men, the most devout will love truth for its own sake and consider it not a property. See Nature (1836), 34.17-19: "This universal soul, he calls Reason: it is not mine or thine or his, but we are its; we are its property and men." See 286. 26. See note on 114.23 and 285.8.

274.21 in proportion as any writer has ascended to just and pure prospect of man's nature and condition] Cf. the language of Nature (1836), 80.4-15.

274.28 the poet as a priest or divine man] See note on 340.7.

275.16 humor...which the English maintain to be inseparable from genius] This subject is not touched upon in Edward George Learle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, England and the English, (2 vols.) London, 1833. Emerson may, however, have known William Hazlitt's essay, "Merry England," which first appeared in the New Monthly Magazine for December, 1825, and his Lectures on the English Comic Writers, London, 1819. See 249.16, where Emerson lists humor as one of the "traits of the national genius." Cf. E T E, I, 343.

277.29 The most obvious of these marks...is a certain generosity in trifles] Cf. Coleridge, The Friend, (new ed., 3 vols.) London, 1818, III, 322-324: "There exists in England, a gentlemanly character, a gentlemanly feeling, very different even from that, which is the most like it, the character of a well-born Spaniard, and unexampled in the rest of Europe. This feeling probably originated in the fortunate circumstance, that the titles of our English nobility follow the law of their property, and are inherited by the eldest sons only. From this source, under the influences of our constitution, and of our astonishing trade, it has diffused itself in different modifications through the whole country. The uniformity of our dress among all classes above that of the day labourer, while it has authorized all classes to assume the appearance of gentlemen, has at the same time inspired the wish to conform their manners, and still more their ordinary actions in social intercourse, to their notions of the gentlemanly, the most commonly received attribute of which character, is a certain generosity in trifles. On the other hand, the encroachments of the lower classes on the higher, occasioned, and favored by this resemblance in exteriors, by this absence of any cognizable marks of distinction, have rendered each class more reserved and jealous in their general communion, and far more than our climate, or natural temper, have caused that haughtiness and reserve in our outward demeanor, which is so generally complained of among foreigners. Far be it from me to depreciate the value of this gentlemanly feeling: I respect it under all its forms and varieties.... It is always the or[na]ment of virtue, and oftentimes a support; but it is a wretched substitute for it. Its worth, as a moral good, is by no means in proportion to its value, as a social advantage. These observations are not irrelevant: for to the want of reflexion, that this diffusion of gentlemanly feeling among us, is not the growth of our moral excellence, but the effect of various accidental advantages peculiar to England...and... to our proneness to regard the absence of this character...as decisive against the sum total of personal or national worth; we must...attribute ...that conduct, which...has left the inhabitants of countries conquered ...by Great Britain doubtful...."

277.32 Lord Byron thinks the hand is the mark of a gentleman] Not located.

277.33 another judge [thinks] a fine voice [is the mark of a gentleman] Not located. Emerson's "Manners" in Essays: Second Series distinguishes "God's gentleman from Fashion's." See Works, III, 119-155.

278.1 Three things, says a lawgiver at Almacks, constitute the gentleman, the hat, the boots, and the collar] I have not discovered Emerson's source, but the opinion resembles some of the declarations made by

by the ruling dames of Almack's in the first of the two contemporary Almack's novels which circulated in Emerson's New England: See Marianne Spencer Stanhope [later Mrs. Robert Hudson], Almack's. A Novel, (2 vols.) N.Y., 1827; London, 1827; (3 vols.) London, 1826; (2nd ed., 3 vols.) London, 1826. Also Charles White, Almack's Revisited, or Herbert Milton, (3 vols.) London, 1828; (2 vols.) N.Y., 1828. For a review of the first, see William Hickling Prescott, "Novel Writing," North American Review, XXV, no. 56 (July, 1827), pp. 183-203. For a brief history of that London establishment, see a review devoted to English "high life": "Tales of the Woods and Fields," Quarterly Review, LVII, no. 113 (Sept., 1836), pp. 68-80, esp. 80: "The rise of Almack's may serve to illustrate the mode in which this sort of empire was consolidated. A few pretty wom[e]n, not in the highest rank of the nobility, met at Devonshire House to practise quadrilles, then recently imported from the continent. The establishment of a subscription-ball was suggested, to which none but the very élite were to be admissible; the subscription to be low, with the view of checking the obtrusive vulgarity of wealth. The fancy took, and when it transpired that the patronesses had actually refused a most estimable English Duchess, all London became mad to be admitted; exclusion was universally regarded as a positive loss of caste, and no arts of solicitation were left untried to avert so horrible a catastrophe. The wives and daughters of the oldest provincial gentry, with pedigrees traced up to the Heptarchy, have been seen humbling themselves by the lowest acts of degradation to soften the obdurate autocratesses; and we fear it is no exaggeration to say, that more than one parvenu has been known to barter his vote in parliament, and more than one parvenue her honour, for a ball-ticket. The prestige has gradually abated, and the institution is now tottering to its fall; but its origin is worth recording, as a ludicrous phenomenon in the progress of society."

280.29 "When a daughter is born," says the Chinese Sheking...."] This quotation, the immediate source of which for Emerson I have not yet located, was entered in Emerson's Journals on June 26, 1834. (See the omission dots in III, 312) Other transcripts appear in VI, 437-438 (1843). The Shee-king with other oriental scriptures is described by John Barrow in "Progress of Chinese Literature in Europe," Quarterly Review, XI, no. 22 (July, 1814), pp. 332-346, esp. 339: "The works that bear the stamp of this renowned sage's [Confucius'] authority are called the Ou-king, or 'the five books of superior eminence.' They consist of the Ye-king, or mystical lines of Fo-shee, which puzzled even the philosopher; the Shoo-king, or book of ancient history; the Shee-king, or book of odes, chiefly laudatory; the Chun-shoo, or local history of the kingdom of Loo, his native province; and the Lee-King, or book of ceremonials adapted to every situation and circumstance. To these may be added the Se-shoo, or 'the four books,' consisting of Ta-hio, 'the great science, 'or art of governing others by first subduing our own passions;' Chung-young, 'the middle path,' or way to happiness by governing the passions; the Lun-yee...and the book of Meng-tse, a philosopher and disciple of the sage, containing discourses on reason, and justice and virtue—all of which profess to contain the doctrines, the opinions and maxims of Confucius." Emerson might have seen the Boston Athenaeum's copy of the Schi-King; chinesisches Liederbuch, dem Deutschen augeeignet von F. Rückert, Altoona, 1833. For a more recent text, see The Book of Chinese Poetry...known as the Shih Ching or Classic of Poetry, metrically tr. by Clement Francis Romilly Allen, London, 1891, p. 260 (stanzas 7 and 8 of the poem headed "King Hsüan's Palace"):

> The fates decree to you shall sons be born;
> Upon the gilded couches they shall sleep;
> Rich robes of purple shall by them be worn;

For toys the royal sceptres shall they keep;
And masterful their cry is when they weep.
Resplendent with red knee-caps shall they stand,
The future kings and princes of the land.

'Tis also fated daughters shall be born;
Upon the ground such infants we may lay;
Plain cotton wrappers shall by them be worn;
With broken tiles for toys the girls may play.
Of knowing right from wrong small power have they.
To furnish food and wine is woman's part,
And cause no sorrow to their parents' heart.

283.23 the modern version of Mr. Wordsworth.] In Emerson's edition of the Poetical Works, (4 vols.) Boston, 1824, II, 253-261.

283.24 Milton...preferred the Squier's tale of Cambuscan bold.] See the reference to "Il Penseroso" in the note on 265.10.

284.23 There never was an original writer.] See 114.23, 285.20, 286. 16ff.

284.25 To receive and to impart...talents of the poet.... He is...the marble mouth of a fountain into which the waters ascend] See note on 119.12, 143.3, 229.16, and 259.26. Cf. the imagery in the note on 315.18.

284.28 nature of man, universal receiving to the end of universal giving] See note on 114.23 and 138.9.

284.29 theory of the Solar System published by Copernicus] Emerson's exact source remains to be discovered. See, however, a repudiation of the view he held in the Encyclopaedia Americana, (13 vols.) Phila., 1830-1833, III, 519: "The hypothesis of Aristarchus of Samos—that the earth revolves in an oblique circle around the sun, and also revolves daily on its own axis—Copernicus could not yet have seen; for it is found in no work previous to his time, except the Arenario of Archimedes, which was first printed at Venice, at a later period."

284.32 sublime prayer which Jesus taught his disciples...a compilation] This view was vulgate doctrine at the Harvard Divinity School in Emerson's day and was reflected in all the reference books he used in the preparation of his "Vestry Lectures" during his brief ministry at the Second Church. Hugo Grotius announced this fact early, for example, in his Annotationes in Libros Evangeliorum, Amsterdami, 1641. By Emerson's time, Grotius' work had been considerably enlarged. The facts to which Emerson refers appear in the Annotationes in Novum Testamentum denuo emendatius editae, (9 vols.) Groningae, 1826-1834, I, 223-231. But Emerson probably never handled this work or any edition of it. The identical facts appear in his handbooks, some of which mention Grotius as some do not. Notable is Heneage Elsley, Annotations on the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, to several editions of which he had access. (For evidence, see the Boston Library Society's charging lists and the marginal notes in the "Vestry Lectures" themselves.) Emerson also used Christian Gottlieb Kühnöl [or Christian Theophilus Kuinoel], Commentarius in Libros Novi Testamenti Historicos, (4 vols.) Lipsiae, 1823-1827. The Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9-13 and Luke 11:2-4) is discussed in I, 169-180 and II, 488. (Evidence of Emerson's use appears in Journals, II, 143; E T E, II, 223; and in the margins of the "Vestry Lectures." Most useful to Emerson may have been Thomas Hartwell Horne, An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, (4th American

ed., 4 vols.) Phila., 1831. It is rich in indexes, bibliographies, and illustrations--a key to the growing body of Biblical studies--to both higher and lower criticism. In Horne's treatment of the Lord's Prayer (III, 296), which I give below, Grotius is not mentioned: "But we know certainly that it was customary for the more eminent doctors of the Jews to compose forms of short prayers, which they delivered to their scholars. Thus John the Baptist gave his disciples such a form: and Jesus Christ, at the request of his disciples, gave them that most perfect model emphatically termed the Lord's Prayer, which the very learned Mr. [John] Gregory has shown that he collected out of the Jewish euchologies: he has translated the whole form from them as follows:—'Our Father, which art in heaven, be gracious unto us! O Lord our God, hallowed be thy name, and let the remembrance of thee be glorified in heaven above, and upon earth here below. Let thy kingdom reign over us, now and for ever. The holy men of old said, remit and forgive unto all men whatsoever they have done against me. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil thing. For thine is the kingdom, and thou shalt reign in glory for ever, and for evermore!"

285.1 oriental scholars find...his precepts in Hebrew proverbs current in his time] See note on 284.32 for mention of the principal commentaries which conveyed to Emerson this information about Jesus' teaching.

285.2 Where is the doctrine...that we cannot match with...some primeval verse or proverb?] Cf. Emerson's "The Present State of Ethical Philosophy" (1821), lines 372-389: "But in morals, what is known now of the good and evil propensities of the heart, and of the modes of correcting and regulating them, was known two thousand years ago to every discerning and contemplative man, and Druid speculated with Druid much in the manner that a modern philosopher, with all his imagined immensity of improvement, converses with his friend on the ordinary topics of morality. This is abundantly proved by the circumstance which almost invariably attends promulgation of a philosophic theory,—that authors start up to prove its antiquity, and that it is the identical theory which Pythagoras, Plato, or Epicurus propounded before. Pythagoras is supposed to have borrowed from the Druids his imperfect moral system." See note on 358.12.

285.8 the nobler the truth...the less important...the question of authorship] The reason is that all truth is "reception." We do not own it; it owns us! See note on 114.23 and 274.20.

285.9 It never troubles the simple lover of truth, said Mendelsohn.... "It is no more according to Plato than according to me."] Emerson inadvertently wrote "Mendelsohn" for "Montaigne." See the Essays of Michael Seigneur de Montaigne, tr. Charles Cotton, (3 vols.) London, 1700, I, 225 [Book I, ch. 25]: "For if he [the child] embrace the Opinions of Xenophon and Plato, by maintaining them, they will no more be theirs, but become his own. Who follows another, follows nothing, finds nothing, nay is inquisitive after nothing. Non sumus sub Rege, sibi quisque se vindicet [We are under no king; let each one look to himself. (Seneca)]; Let him at least know, that he knows. It will be necessary that he imbibe their knowledge, not that he be corrupted with their Precepts; and no matter if he forget where he had his Learning, provided he know how to apply it to his own Use; Truth and Reason are common to every one, and are no more his who spake them first, than his who speaks them after. 'Tis no more according to Plato, than according to me, since both he and I equally see and understand them. Bees cull their several Sweets from this Flower, and that Blossom, here and there where they find them, but themselves after make the Honey, which is all, and purely their own, and no more Time

and Marjoram: so the several Fragments he borrows from others, he will transform and suffle together to compile a Work that shall be absolutely his own...." See the parallel remarks by Goethe, 285.21—286.18. Emerson's favorite personal edition of Montaigne was Charles Cotton's translation: vols. I and III (second ed., London, 1693); vol. II (third ed., London, 1700). These volumes, containing his notes, are now in Houghton: *AC85.Em345.Zy693m.

285.15 it only needs to lift the iron lids of the mind's eye to read its oracles] Cf. note on 385.24. For this imagery see Journals, III, 539. Cf. Milton's Il Penseroso, line 107: "Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek." Cf. William Cullen Bryant's tr. of Homer's Iliad, Bk. XI, line 285: "He slept an iron sleep." For "mind's eye," "eye of Reason," and "inward eye," see the index of E T E.

285.18 Every great man...necessarily takes up into himself all the wisdom that is current in his time.] Another echo of Victor Cousin on the great man. See E T E, I, 317-318.

285.20 It is only an inventor can use the inventions of others] Attributed to Michael Angelo. See 114.23.

285.30 What is genius but the faculty of seizing and turning to account everything that strikes us] See 261.23.

286.10 "Every one of my writings...bears the name of Goethe."] See Journals, II, 349.

286.26 the thought most strictly his own is not his own] See note on 285.8 and 274.20.

286.33 imparting...the religion, the wit, and humanity of a whole age] Cf. note on 317.1.

288.33 this kingdom of the intellect...a stone cut out from the mountain without hands to form the most...durable of edifices] This interesting metaphor seems to owe something to the following Biblical verses and their contexts: 2 Cor. 5:1——"For we know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." Hebrews 9:11——"But Christ being come a high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building."

289.5 He possessed above all men the essential gift of the Poet...the Imaginative Power which all men possess in...degree] See 305.4 and note on 257.26. For his indebtedness to Coleridge's theory of the Imagination and Coleridge's Shakespearean criticism, see E T E, I, 159. On all men's sharing this gift in greater or less degree, see note on 162.23.

289.11 The power of the Poet depends on the fact that the material world is a symbol or expression of the human mind and part for part.] See De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21.

289.21 Linnaeus' and Buffon's volumes] For commentary, see E T E, I, 415.

289.26 The seed of a plant] See Journals, III, 497 (June 29, 1835) and index of E T E.

289.32 analogy between man's life and the seasons] See Young Emerson Speaks, 44.18ff.

289.34 The instincts of the ant] For commentary, see E T E, I, 415-416.

290.5 laws of moral nature answer to those of matter as face to face in a glass. The axioms of physics translate the laws of ethics.] For the influence here of De Staël's Germany, see note on 25.6.

290.14 proverbs of nations...a natural fact selected as a picture or parable of moral truth] Cf. 25.15 and the illustrative proverbs.

290.15 "A rolling stone gathers no moss."] Cf. 25.18.

290.16 "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush."] See also 25.17.

290.17 "A cripple...will beat a racer"] See Novum Organum Scientiarum, tr. Peter Shaw, (2 vols.) London, 1802, I, 29: In a discussion of the "Four Idols," Bacon writes: "And a cripple in the right way may beat a racer in the wrong one. Nay, the fleeter and better the racer is, who has once missed his way, the farther he leaves it behind. Our method, however, of discovering the sciences, does not much depend upon subtilty, and strength of genius, but lies level to almost every capacity and understanding. For, as it requires great steadiness and exercise of the hand to draw a true strait line, or a circle, by the hand alone, but little or no practice with the assistance of a ruler or compasses; so it is with our method."

290.18 "'Tis hard to carry a full cup even."] See also 25.18.

290.23 nothing lucky or capricious in these analogies] See Journals, III, 226-227 (Nov. 2, 1833). See also "Doctrine of Correspondence" in the index of E T E.

290.26 It appears to men or it does not appear.] See note on 226.16.

290.33 good writing and brilliant discourse are perpetual allegories] See note on 259.1 and 259.22.

291.2 He [the Poet] converts the solid globe...into symbols of thought] For commentary, see E T E, I, 422.

291.3 He makes the outward creation...a convenient alphabet] Emerson here remembered the metaphor in Coleridge's "The Destiny of Nations: A Vision," quoted above on 25.3-5.

291.14 the one conforms things to its thoughts and the other...thoughts to things] See note on 162.23.

291.24 He magnifies the small. He micrifies the large.] Cf. 261.12.

291.26 treats nature as merely apparent and thought as the only reality] Cf. 79.22. Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 67-71.

292.20 Not she she tempts me not] See 223.25.

292.21 lying by the violet in the sun / Do as the carrion does, not as the flower / Corrupt with virtuous season] Cf. this image from Measure for Measure, II,ii,165-168, with those of 327.12 and 347.2.

296.28 the imagination has been morbid from its own excess. Even Luther....] Cf. 138.4.

296.34 This vision of all being we call Reason.] For the Coleridgean definition, see E T E, I, 201-204.

296.35 the mind's Eye] Cf. such phrases as "eye of Reason," "Eternal Eye," "Inward Eye," "mind's eye" in the index of E T E.

297.4 earth receives a ray from every star in the concave sphere] See note on 72.7.

297.7 the special check to the excess of imagination is the appetite ...to explore the grounds of his own being] The check Emerson proposed in "The Naturalist" (79.21) was natural philosophy—an interest in and an exploration of, the natural world. Cf. the balance-wheels which saved Luther: strong common sense and capacity to love: 138.8——"his head and heart" were sound.

297.10 This is philosophy when applied to man, criticism when applied to his works] Emerson here suggests that when a man applies the check to himself, it is "self-knowledge"—the Gnothi Seauton—requiring a respect for what Coleridge denominated the "Understanding" as well as the "Reason." See E T E, I, 201-204.

297.12 seems necessary that the poet should believe his own fable] Why? The doctrine of genius as "reception" tended to minimize the personal channel of communication. For the self-surrendering involved see note on 119.12 and Emerson's exhorting himself to complete mystical submission in "Gnothi Seauton" (1831). See E T E, I, 175-179.

297.17 difficult to extract an autobiography from his works] See the discussion of Shakespeare in note on 149.6.

297.20 the spiritual truths which are the basis and fountain of our being] Possibly an echo of Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations of Immortality," lines 149ff.

> But for those first affections,
> Those shadowy recollections,
> Which, be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
> Are yet a master light of all our seeing;
> ... truths that wake
> To perish never....

These truths are intuitions of the Coleridgean Reason discussed in E T E, I, 79-86.

297.24 questions are ever starting up in his mind] Shakespeare is here confronted with Bishop Berkeley's Ideal Theory, which Emerson momentarily entertained in chapter VI ("Idealism") in Nature (1836).

297.28 a picture gallery which the sovereign Mind paints on Space and Time] The best commentary is Berkeley's A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge. See pertinent extracts in E T E, I, 70-74.

297.29 The solid globe melts...leaves not a rack behind] See Shakespeare's The Tempest, IV,i,153-156:

> ...the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve

And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.

297.30 He doubts if any thing is, he doubts if he doubts] Note the context. Probably a reference to one of Hamlet's several soliloquies. See, however, the jingle written in his note to Ophelia: II,ii,115-118.

297.33 "nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so"] Hamlet's retort to Rosencrantz (II,ii,251-253).

299.12 the cunning dreams of oriental contemplation] Emerson here associates certain poetic matters and the doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls with Oriental thought—ultimately with Hinduism. (His interest in metempsychosis began in the Harvard years. See the index to E T E.) The view here expressed does not differ much from that in "The Character of Socrates" (1820), lines 287ff.: "The food and occupation of the [poet] has to do with golden dreams,—airy nothings, bright personifications of glory and joy and evil,—and we imagine him sitting apart, like Brahma, moulding magnificent forms, clothing them with beauty and grandeur. The [soul of Socrates] dwells on earth, dealing plainly and bluntly with men and men's actions, instructing them what to do and to forbear; and even when he desires to lift his tone, it is only to mingle with higher reality, but never forsaking safe, but tedious, paths of certainty."

299.28 whom...when alive the world bows aside as amiable enthusiasts whose speculations tend to no human purpose] Cf. the last three chapters of De Staël's Germany.

299.32 Plotinus...all his lifetime...shame because he had a body] See Journals, II, 377. Emerson had examined Porphyry's Vita Plotini, translated into Latin and interpreted by Marsilio Ficino in the early pages of Harvard College Library's copy of Plotinus, Operum Philosophicorum Omnium...cum...Marsilii Ficini interpretatione & commentatione (Gr. and Lat.) Basileae, 1580. See sig. B1 recto: "Plotinus Philosophus nostro seculo singularis: pudore quodam affici videbatur, quòd anima eius in corpore esset...." Beside this passage in the margin Emerson read: "Plotinus delicias et inanem gloriam vitamque contemnebat...." See also Thomas Taylor's "Introduction" to the Select Works of Plotinus ...with an Introduction containing the Substance of Porphyry's Life of Plotinus, London, 1817: We read "what Porphyry asserts of him in the beginning of his life, viz that he was ashamed that his soul was in body."

299.33 Diogenes...is impelled by a similar philosophic shame.] See the evidence in note on 250.7.

300.2 The philosopher...with truths abstracted from all personal relations] For interesting commentary, see E T E, I, 419 bottom—420; 424 bottom. See Nature (1836), 58.4-15 and 92.7.

300.8 we exaggerate trifles] See the Index-Concordance to Emerson's published sermons (under "Trifles") in E T E, II, 305-306. See the sermon, "Trifles," in Young Emerson Speaks, pp. 46-53 (first preached July 26, 1829). See Edward Waldo Emerson, Emerson in Concord: A Memoir, Boston & N.Y., [1888], p. 10. Mary Moody Emerson "gave high counsels... 'Lift your aims;' 'Always do what you are afraid to do;' 'Scorn trifles;' —-such were the maxims she gave her nephews, and which they made their own.

300.10 majority of men...live and act mainly in quite another region]

I.e., in the realm of the Understanding. They neglect life in the Reason. See Section XII of Emerson's "Statement of the First Philosophy" (1835) completed only a few months before this lecture: E T E, I, 193-194.

300.20 The name we give to this perception is Common Sense] This area of the Understanding both Coleridge and Emerson agreed needed cultivation. In Nature (1836), 47.17, Emerson speaks of it as "the Hand of the mind."

301.1 he was obliged to flee to London for stealing deer.] Emerson owned [Walter Savage Landor], Citation and Examination of William Shakspeare, Euseby Treen, Joseph Carnaby and Silas Gough, clerk, before the worshipful Sir Thomas Lucy, knight, touching deer-stealing...in the year 1582, London, 1834. (Emerson's copy is autographed.) The account of deer-stealing appears in most of Emerson's sources. See chapter X (pp. 401ff.) in Nathan Drake, Shakespeare and his Times, (2 vols.) London, 1817; The Poems of Shakespeare. To which is added an account of his Life, (1st American ed.) Boston, 1807; The Plays and Poems, ed. Edmond Malone [and James Boswell], (21 vols.) London, 1821 (Vols. I-III contain the "Prolegomena," all three of which Emerson read.).

302.14 taking his ease in his inn] Cf. the well-known sentence in John Heywood's Proverbs, Pt. i, ch. 5 (1546): "To let the world wag and take mine ease in mine inn." Emerson apparently remembered Falstaff's speech to Dame Quickly (1 Henry IV, III,iii,83): "What! will you make a younker of me? shall I not take mine ease in mine inn but I shall have my pocket picked?"

302.31 Im[manuel] Kant has possessed the reflective faculty] Cf. De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 39-63.

303.23 gives us things and not words] See note on 131.13.

303.34 taking his stand in that empyrean centre out of which the Divinity speaks] Cf. the imagery in "Martin Luther" (143.3ff.).

304.13 a Catholic or Universal mind of very great cultivation] Cf. the note on 138.9.

304.15 [Shakspear] who knew that his record was true] This is Johannine language. See John 19:34-35——"But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith true...." Also 3 John 12——"Demetrius hath good report of all men, and of the truth itself: yea, and we also bear record; and ye know that our record is true." See 381.3.

305.4 the Imaginative power, the primary talent of a poet] See note on 289.5.

305.9 reflective powers...alone, would have made him the extremest of Skeptics] For commentary, see 297.24-36; 299.24-31. Emerson uses the word "skeptic" in the Berkeleian sense of looking upon the phenomenal world as essentially mirage. It is religious ultrafidianism rather than irreligious atheism—though the psychologist of our day might see a connection between them.

305.27 he [Shakspear] lived among a cloud of intelligent witnesses unpraised, unmentioned.] See Hebrews 12:1——"Wherefore, seeing we also

are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us."

306.11 Lord Bacon, the English Plato] Emerson received the hint for this identification from Coleridge's The Friend. (See E T E, I, 115-116.) See also the testimony of Sir James Mackintosh cited in the note on 160.34.

306.25 Addison, since whose time he [Shakespeare] became the wonder of the world] For another example of Emerson's dating universal acceptance of a person from the days of a particular literary figure or critic, see note on 241.11.

307.5 witchcraft which he exercises over our minds...the magic of the story] See note on 289.5 The secret is Shakespeare's imaginative power. His "enchantments" are stressed in Francis Jeffrey's "Hazlitt on Shakespeare," Edinburgh Review, XXVIII, no. 56 (Aug., 1817), pp. 472-488, esp. 472-477, q.v.

307.17 "milk of human kindness"] See note on 272.20.

307.18 "chewing the food of sweet and bitter fancy"] See As You Like It, IV,iii,102.

307.19 "Nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice"] See Othello, V,ii,342-343.

307.19 "Time was the brains were out the man would die"] See Macbeth, III,iv,79-81:

> ...the times have been,
> That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
> And there an end; but now they rise again....

307.20 Next to the English Bible he [Shakspear] contributes most] The reader should note the strong influence of the King James Version of the Bible on the early lectures—explicable, in part, by their following hard upon Emerson's four years of preaching and, partly, upon the character of the Boston audiences.

307.25 it is affirmed...that Englishmen know more of English history from Shakspear than from Hume] Emerson remembered reading "Sir James Turner's Life and Times," Edinburgh Review, LI, no. 101 (April, 1830), pp. 38-64, esp. p. 39: "In spite of Cressy, and Poictiers, and Agincourt, the reigns of the Edwards, and Henries, and Richards, would have been read by comparatively few, had they not been immortalised by the pen of Shakspeare, from whose pages, rather than those of Rapin or Hume, we recollect the order of their succession, and the principal events connected with their names." Like Hume's History of England, Paul de Rapin-Thoyras's History of England passed through many editions.

307.31 Whether Hamlet was truly insane, what was the real character of Othello...questions...wise men...debate] Emerson had recently read an article entitled "Sir Henry Halford's Essays—Death and Madness," Quarterly Review, XLIX, no. 97 (April, 1833), pp. 175-198. Halford's interesting essay, "On Shakspeare's test of Insanity," is discussed on pages 181-198.

307.36 obeying with fidelity the law of thought] I.e., the law of the Reason—the intuitive faculty or "God within." See the indexes of E T E and Nature (1836) for collateral examples. See also 311.23ff.

308.21 of all writers the least of a mannerist] See also Emerson's "Character of Socrates" (1820), line 152. By "mannerist" he had men like Byron in mind. See note on 279.29.

310.4 Jonson compliments him on his "true torned and well filed lines"] Emerson misquotes the verses prefixed to the first folio edition of Shakespeare's plays (London, 1623):

> And such wert thou. Looke how the fathers face
> Lives in his issue, even so, the race
> Of Shakespeares minde and manners brightly shines
> In his well torned, and true-filed lines....

310.6 The telescope and the microscope arrive at perfection together] Emerson may have recalled Theophilus Parson's "The Infinite in Nature," New Jerusalem Magazine, IV, pp. 144-146 (Dec., 1830), esp. 145: "Thus the telescope was given that we might look upon the glittering sky with something better than vague admiration, with the knowledge that space is sown thick with innumerable worlds. The microscope is also given that we may advance in an opposite direction; that we may see every leaf to be a world to innumerable inhabitants.... There is no end to our progress on either side." (See E T E, II, 58-59.)

310.7 The great masters of wisdom and the heart are the masters of words] See note on 131.13 and 162.14.

310.8 as if literature...finery and word-catching] See Coleridge's condemnation of the popular writers of his day in the note on 229.36.

310.11 enchantments of Shakspeare] See note on 307.5.

311.15 tempted to believe...Philonic inspiration...guided the pen of the poet] Cf. 119.12 and 259.26.

311.21 his plays...first published in 1624...seven years after... death] John Heminge and Henry Condell published the first folio edition in 1623. Quartos of the separate plays, of course, had appeared earlier. Shakespeare died in 1616, which year, added to 7, gives 1623.

311.23 the persons of his Drama...sharply drawn...yet idealized... true to the laws of thought] Cf. 307.36. Emerson probably knew William Hazlitt's Characters of Shakespeare's Plays, London, 1817. He certainly read Francis Jeffrey, "Hazlitt on Shakespeare," Edinburgh Review, XXVIII, no. 56 (Aug., 1817), pp. 472-488; he possibly noted the refutation of Samuel Johnson's views in Richard Chenevix, "French Comedy," Edinburgh Review, XXIX, no. 58 (July, 1823), pp. 414-440, esp. 416-417: "Dr. Johnson, in his preface to Shakspeare, has said, 'that in the writings of other poets, a character is too often an individual; in those of Shakspeare, it is commonly a species.' This opinion, which Dr. Johnson delivered as a eulogium, would have been the most derogatory that could have been devised to the merit of our great bard, had it been true: but fortunately for those who admire his plays, it is altogether unfounded .... The prodigious excellence of Shakspeare, that which raises him above every other poet, is, that all his characters are individuals. They do, indeed, belong to some class, and so do all men; but, besides the generic attributes which mark that class, each has his own peculiar qualities, which distinguish him from every other individual appertaining to it...." Of the two views, Emerson adopted both.

312.20 Duncan's remark upon the pleasantness of the air] Macbeth, I,vi,1ff.

312.24 the dagger in the air] See Macbeth, II,i,33ff.

312.24 the imaginary voices] See Macbeth, II,ii,35ff.

312.24 the sleepwalking of Lady Macbeth] See Macbeth, V,i,20ff.

312.25 the ghost at the banquet] See Macbeth, III,iv,40ff. and 93ff.

313.10 In Dryden's time they...commend Shakspear for his men...suppose he did not draw women] See Dryden's essay, "The Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy," the Preface to his Troilus and Cressida (1679) [Dramatic Essays (Everyman Library), pp. 133 and 144:] "The difference between Shakspeare and Fletcher in their plotting seems to be this; that Shakspeare generally moves more terror and Fletcher more compassion: for the first had a more masculine, a bolder and more fiery genius; the second, a more soft and womanish.... For what remains, the excellency of that poet was, as I have said, in the more manly passions; Fletcher's in the softer: Shakspeare writ better betwixt man and man; Fletcher betwixt man and woman: consequently, the one described friendship better; the other love: yet Shakspeare taught Fletcher to write love: and Juliet and Desdemona are originals. 'Tis true the scholar had the softer soul; but the master had the kinder. Friendship is both a virtue and a passion essentially; love is a passion only in its nature, and is not a virtue but by accident: good nature makes friendship; but effeminacy love. Shakspeare had an universal mind, which comprehended all characters and passions; Fletcher a more confined and limited: for though he treated love in perfection, yet honour, ambition, revenge, and generally all the stronger passions, he either touched not, or not masterly. To conclude all, he was a limb of Shakspeare."

313.12 But stronger Shakspear felt for man alone.] From the "Epistle to Sir Thomas Hanmer on his Edition of Shakspeare's Works:"

> Too nicely Jonson knew the critick's part;
> Nature in him was almost lost in art.
> Of softer mould the gentle Fletcher came,
> The next in order, as the next in name.
> With pleas'd attention 'midst his scenes we find
> Each glowing thought, that warms the female mind;
> Each melting sigh, and every tender tear,
> The lover's wishes, and the virgin's fear.
> His every strain the Smiles and Graces own;
> But stronger Shakspeare felt for man alone.

Emerson found these and other tributes—together with helpful commentaries—in The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, with...A Life of the Poet, ed. Edmond Malone [and James Boswell], (21 vols.) London, 1821, I, pp. 470-504. The quoted line with Boswell's protest appears on p. 497. The section is headed: "Ancient and Modern Commendatory Verses on Shakspeare."

313.28 These wise sentences...a large part of that treasury of proverbial wisdom which floats in the daily speech] Cf. 369.29.

315.7 dialogue of Ulysses with Achilles] See Troilus and Cressida, III,iii,74-216.

315.8 advice of Polonius to his son] Hamlet, I,iii,55-81.

315.18 that we may better judge of what man has done and may do] See note on 138.9. For Emerson's favorite image, see E T E, I, 290, and Jour-

nals, III, 304: "They show how high the waters flowed...." Cf. note on 284.25.

315.25 Raleigh kept the expectations of men erect by his irregular greatness] See note on 119.2.

316.20 his [Shakspeare's] fables were furnished to his hands] See note on 286.10.

317.1 one man...made to take up into his genius what...is excellent and worth preserving in his age] Cf. Goethe in 286.16; Chaucer in 286. 29-34; Luther, 142.30; 138.12-14.

317.3 He becomes the Secretary for that Century or Nation] See note on 187.15 and 225.14. Emerson received a hint for Shakespeare's title from a footnote in Bacon's De Augmentis Scientiarum, (2 vols.) London, 1803 (part of a set of 12 vols., London, 1802-1803), at the end of Bacon's discourse on "The Fable of Pan," I, 55: "The author [Bacon] always endeavours to place himself in this situation, and accordingly calls himself, and is called by others, the secretary of nature. See Sir Henry Wotton's Letter to the Lord Bacon, in the Reliquiae Wottonianiae." [This was Peter Shaw's note.] Cf. 357.17.

317.5 more the product of tradition than of poets] In Emerson's thinking at this time Cousin's view of the "great man" was held a little awkwardly along with the doctrine of genius as "reception." See note on 119.12.

317.8 the union of many parts each of which came solitary and slowly into the mind] For the atomic theory of composition, see the note on 214.8.

317.15 Fontenelle...the secret of Nature...simple elements the universe was made up.... Is this all!] See 74.21.

317.20 Composition...more important than the elegance of individual forms...shells...social on the shore...by the sea and under the sky] See 73.24.

317.33 "The naked and unassisted hand...when assisted by instruments ...able to perform much more...the same with the mind." See Bacon's Novum Organum Scientiarum, tr. Peter Shaw, (2 vols.) London, 1802, I, 1-2: Aphorism 2 reads as follows: "Neither the hand without instruments, nor the unassisted understanding, can do much; they both require helps to fit them for business; and as instruments of the hand, either serve to excite motion, or direct it; so the instruments of the mind either suggest to, or guard and preserve the understanding." Emerson glanced at the footnote and read: "This Aphorism in another place is turned thus. 'The naked and unassisted hand, however strong and true, is adapted only to the performance of a few easy works; but when assisted by instruments, becomes able to perform abundance more, and of much greater difficulty: and the case is exactly the same with the mind.' The whole will be abundantly explained and illustrated by what follows. See also Introduction, ¶2 and 3." Emerson did not, therefore, himself translate from a Latin text, though he knew one. See Journals, III, 477.

318.2 Composition or methodical union is this instrument...of Synthesis] On the "atomic theory," see note on 214.8. Emerson here neglects to mention the part of the Imagination in the process.

318.14 the rhapsody of the Pythoness] See note on 153.21. Cf. 349.21.

318.25 the part of St. Peter's...already built...elevated the conception of the following architects...instructed them to build the rest] See 114.10ff.

319.5 It takes an ounce to balance an ounce] See 382.3.

321.7 they are antidotes to each other's excessive influence...power of self recovery] On the way in which authors or books sweep us off our feet and then receive competition from rivals who counteract excessive influence and assist the process of reaching the correct niches in our lives see Journals, II, 529; 465-466.

321.12 recovering the erect position] See note on 119.2.

322.32 The testimony of Ben Jonson is very explicit] See note on 325.21.

323.28 the servility of which his letters are too many proofs] Emerson might have seen the excellent selection of these servile epistles in "The Letters of Lord Bacon," Retrospective Review, VI (1822), part I, 152-175.

325.3 his masculine understanding] Cf. 188.25.

325.4 an Archangel to whom the high office was committed of opening the doors and palaces of knowledge] Cf. the language of 187.11. See note on 336.11.

325.14 Much palliation no doubt is to be found in...the depraved politics of his times and in the hard necessity] Emerson here shows some familiarity with a defense of the Lord Chancellor in Edward Everett's "Character of Lord Bacon," North American Review, XVI, no. 39 (April, 1823), pp. 300-337.

325.16 so foolish and contemptible persons as Buckingham and King James] The outstanding biography of Bacon for political background and the unmentionable matters here referred to is David Mallet's The Life of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, London, 1740; London, 1768; London, 1822. With it I think Emerson was acquainted while writing this lecture. Though it does not appear in his lists of library borrowings, it was probably skimmed in the space of a few hours in one of his book resources. A first edition was owned by the Boston Library Society. In his manuscripts he seems to refer to the following passage in Mallet (p. 95): "His [King James's] favourite maxim was, that he who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign: but he seems not to have heard of a second maxim, without which the first cannot be successful, even for a time; to conceal every appearance of cunning, and to deceive under the guise of candor and good faith. He, on the contrary, shewed his whole game at once...."

325.21 And Ben Jonson writes thus of him] See Jonson's On the Lord St. Albans.

326.6 Heraclitus..."Men rather explore their own little worlds, than the great world...God made."] This is possibly Emerson's paraphrase of a sentence under the aphorism on "Idols of the Den" in Bacon's Novum Organum Scientiarum, tr. Peter Shaw (2 vols.) London, 1802, I, p. 15: "Idols of the Den, are the Idols of every man in particular; for, besides the general aberrations of human nature, we every one of us have our peculiar Den or Cavern...a mind prejudiced or prepossessed.... Whence Heraclitus well observes, that men seek the sciences in the lesser worlds, and not in the great or common one." Cf. I, p. 14: "Idols of the Tribe have

their foundation in human nature, and the whole tribe or race of mankind ...since all perceptions, both of the sense and mind, are with relation to man, and not with relation to the universe." See also De Augmentis Scientiarum, (2 vols.) London, 1803 (part of a set of 12 volumes), I, 11: "And with this emblem of Plato's den, agrees the saying of Heraclitus; viz. that men seek the sciences in their own narrow worlds, but not in the wide one." This version Emerson copied into p. 22 of Blotting Book I (Cabot's T). He might, of course, have freely translated from a Latin edition, which he had in his library: The Works of Francis Bacon, (10 vols.) London, 1824, VIII, 8: Under Aphorism XLII ("Idola specus"): "... Unde bene Heraclitus, homines scientias quaerere in minoribus mundis, et non in majore sive communi."

326.12 None ever hoped more highly of what man could do.] In the section on Bacon in Dugald Stewart's Dissertation First, [Edinburgh, 1816], Emerson gleaned some memorable thoughts on this point: Stewart quotes (p. 45) the words of Ludovicus Vives for their similarity to remarks in the Novum Organon: "The similitude which many have fancied between the superiority of the moderns to the ancients, and the elevation of a dwarf on the back of a giant, is altogether false and puerile. Neither were they giants, nor are we dwarfs, but all of us men of the same standard,—and we the taller of the two, by adding their height to our own: Provided always, that we do not yield to them in study, attention, vigilance, and love of truth; for, if these qualities be wanting, so far from mounting on the giant's shoulders, we throw away the advantages of our own just stature, by remaining prostrate on the ground." Stewart adds (p. 59): "It is by the mediation of an improving language, that the progress of the mind is chiefly continued from one generation to another; and that the acquirements of the enlightened few are insensibly imparted to the many. Whatever tends to diminish the ambiguities of speech, or to fix, with more logical precision, the import of general terms;—above all, whatever tends to embody, in popular forms of expression, the ideas and feelings of the wise and good, augments the natural powers of the human understanding, and enables the succeeding race to start from a higher ground than was occupied by their fathers." In the notes on Bacon (p. 157) Stewart quotes George Hakewill: "I do not believe that all regions of the world, or all ages in the same region, afford wits always alike; but this I think... that the wits of these latter ages...may be as capable of deep speculations, and produce as masculine and lasting births, as any of the ancienter times have done. But if we conceive them to be giants, and ourselves dwarfs; if we imagine all sciences already to have received their utmost perfection, so as we need not but translate and comment on what they have done, surely there is little hope that we should ever come near them, much less match them. The first step to enable a man to the achieving of great designs, is to be persuaded that he is able to achieve them; the next not to be persuaded that whatsoever hath not yet been done, cannot therefore be done. Not any one man, or nation, or age, but rather mankind it is, which, in latitude of capacity, answers to the universality of things to be known."

326.13 inferior men...think meanly of human nature. Great men... greatly] This is a variation of Heraclitus's "Like only can know like" or "Like only can be known by like." See note on 170.30.

326.26 He saw what all saw and also what few see and what none understand.] See note on 78.34.

326.28 Truth was not barren.] Cf. 330.31. See Sir James Mackintosh, "Stewart's Introduction to the Encyclopaedia," Edinburgh Review, XXVII, no. 53 (Sept., 1816), pp. 180-244, esp. 187-188: "His important ques-

tions to the Doctors of his time were, 'Is Truth ever barren? Are we the richer by one poor invention, by reason of all the learning that hath been these many hundred years?' His judgment, we may also hear from himself— 'Francis Bacon thought in this manner. The knowledge whereof the world is now possessed, especially that of nature, extendeth not to magnitude and certainty of works.' He found knowledge barren: He made her fertile; and he did not underrate the utility of particular inventions: But it is evident that he valued them most, as they are themselves among the highest exertions of superior intellect; as they are monuments of the progress of knowledge; as they are the bands of that alliance between action and speculation, where an appeal to experience and utility checks the proneness of the philosopher to extreme refinements; which teaches men to revere, and excites them to pursue science by these splendid proofs of its beneficial power."

326.29 The perfect man..."the interpreter of Nature and the priest of the world"] See 340.20. Emerson came upon this aphorism in many forms. See Novum Organum Scientiarum, tr. Peter Shaw, (2 vols.) London, 1802, I, xi: "As man is but the servant and interpreter of nature, he can work and understand no farther, than he shall, either in action or contemplation, observe of the proceedings of nature; to whose laws he remains subject. The limits, therefore, of the human power and knowledge, lie in the qualifications wherewith man is by nature endowed, for acting and perceiving; and again in the state of things presented to him: and beyond these limits his instruments and abilities can never reach." See also I, 1-2: "Man, who is the servant and interpreter of nature, can act and understand no farther than he has, either in operation, or in contemplation, observed of the method and order of nature. Neither the hand without instruments, nor the unassisted understanding, can do much; they both require helps to fit them for business; and as instruments of the hand, either serve to excite motion, or direct it; so the instruments of the mind either suggest to, or guard and preserve the understanding. The knowledge and power of man are coincident; for whilst ignorant of causes, he can produce no effects: Nor is nature to be conquered but by submission. And that which in speculation stands for the cause, is what in practice stands for the rule." See 340.20.

326.32 room and verge enough] Cf. Thomas Gray, The Bard, line 51: "Give ample room, and verge enough."

327.3 The system grinder hates the truth] See Journals, III, p. 523, for an interesting context.

327.8 But for impolite or even sordid particulars....] Emerson gives the source as "Nov. Org. 120"—actually on pp. 122-123 of the first volume of Bacon's Novum Organum Scientiarum, tr. Peter Shaw, (2 vols.) London, 1802. Emerson modernized the spelling of the third word: "But for unpolite, or even sordid particulars, which, as Pliny observes, require an apology for being mentioned; even these ought to be received into a natural history, no less than the most rich and delicate; for natural history is not defiled by them, any more than the sun, by shining alike upon the palace and the privy. And we do not endeavour to build a capital, or erect a pyramid, to the glory of mankind; but to found a temple, in imitation of the world, and consecrate it to the human understanding: so that we must frame our model accordingly. For whatever is worthy of existence, is worthy of our knowledge, which is the image of existence: but ignoble things exist, as well as the noble. Nay, as some excrementitious matters, for example, musk, civit, &c. sometimes produce excellent odours; so sordid instances sometimes afford great light and information."

327.12 than the sun by shining alike upon the palace and the privy] See the quotation from Bacon in the note on 327.8. Cf. the imagery of 292.21 and 347.2. See the quotation from The Spectator in the note on 162.23.

327.18 musk, civet, etc. sometimes produce excellent odours] Civet, a substance extracted from a pouch near the genitals of civet cats, is an ingredient of many perfumes. See 12.8 and the note on 327.8.

327.24 He conceived more highly...of the office of the Literary Man] See note on 162.23.

327.25 Believing that every object in nature had its correlative in some truth in the mind] See De Staël's Germany, ¶s. 18-21.

327.28 law of Inquiry after truth...that nothing should be in the globe of matter...not...likewise in the globe of crystal] For the best commentary, see 328.21. See Of the Advancement of Learning in The Works of Francis Bacon, (10 vols.) London, 1824, I, 200: "In substance, because it is the perfect law of inquiry of truth, 'that nothing be in the globe of matter, which should not be likewise in the globe of crystal, or form;' that is, that there be not any thing in being and action, which should not be drawn and collected into contemplation and doctrine."

327.33 Nothing...so great...small...vile but he would know its law] Cf. 26.3, 72.22. In this respect, Bacon was like Goethe. See Sarah Austin, Characteristics of Goethe, (3 vols.) London, 1833, III, 323-324: "He knew no such thing as a trifle: for his manner of treating it, and the thought he put into it, converted it into a thing of importance." See also Bacon's De Augmentis Scientiarum, tr. Peter Shaw, (2 vols.) London, 1803 (part of a set of 12 vols.), I, 69 (on "Philosophy" or "Philosophia Prima"): "Axioms of this kind are numerous: for example, 1. if equals be added to unequals, the wholes will be unequal. This is a rule of mathematics; which holds also in ethics, with regard to distributive justice. 2. Things agreeing to the same third, agree also with one another. This likewise is an axiom in mathematics; and, at the same time, so serviceable in logic, as to be the foundation of syllogism. 3. Nature shews herself best in her smallest works. This is a rule in philosophy, that produced the atoms of Democritus; and was justly employed by Aristotle in politics, when he begins the consideration of a commonwealth in a family. 4. All things change, but nothing is lost. This is an axiom in physics, and holds in natural theology; for as the sum of matter neither diminishes nor increases; so it is equally the work of omnipotence to create, or to annihilate it." [Italics mine.] See Journals, IX, 284. Emerson lists the following among his "Memorabilia of Philosophy:" Natura in minimis existat. "Nature is in leasts." (Aristotle).

327.34 The literary man should know the whole theory of all that was done in the world] This is the idiom of Ecclesiastes. See 1:13-14; 4:1-3; 8:9; 9:3-6.

330.19 ship...carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the remote regions in participation of their fruits] See 41.18.

330.31 Knowledge he said, was barren.] See note on 326.28.

331.1 "Command Nature by obeying her."] See note on 20.23.

331.5 the mind of man is an edifice not built with human hands] See 2 Cor. 5:1——"For we know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

331.21 how by...method an answer might be extorted from nature to every inquiry of man] Cf. Nature (1836), 6.4-12.

332.11 more than is dreamed of in your philosophy] Allusion to Hamlet, I,v,167:

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

332.20 Scott's Demonology] Sir Walter Scott's Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq. circulated in many editions. Of special interest to students of Emerson is "Letter IV" on Fairies, an emendation of Scott's earlier essay, "On the Fairies of Popular Superstition," prefixed to the "Tale of Tamlane." See note on 260.24 and 261.11.

333.5 The whole history of Science since the time of Bacon is a commentary and exposition of his views] Emerson found an excellent illustration of this fact—enunciated in our own day by Einstein's Theory of Relativity and the increased importance of TIME as a dimension—in Mrs. Mary (Fairfax) Somerville's A Preliminary Dissertation on the Mechanism of the Heavens, Phila., 1832, p. 34: "Among the fortunate conjectures which have been confirmed by subsequent experience, that of Bacon is not the least remarkable. 'It produces in me,' says the restorer of true philosophy, 'a doubt, whether the face of the serene and starry heavens be seen at the instant it really exists, or not till some time later; and whether there be not, with respect to the heavenly bodies, a true time and an apparent time, no less than a true place and an apparent place.... For it seems incredible that the species or rays of the celestial bodies can pass through an immense interval between them and us in an instant; or that they do not even require some considerable portion of time.'"

333.7 The book of Lord Bacon that gets out of libraries...into camps, is his Essays.] Cf. Emerson's paragraph with the following from Dugald Stewart, Dissertation First: Exhibiting a General View of the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, Since the Revival of Letters in Europe, [Edinburgh, 1816], p. 54: "Under the same head of Ethics may be mentioned the small volume to which he has given the title Essays; the best known and the most popular of all his works. It is also one of those where the superiority of his genius appears to the greatest advantage; the novelty and depth of his reflections often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of his subject. It may be read from beginning to end in a few hours,—and yet, after the twentieth perusal, one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before. This, indeed, is a characteristic of all Bacon's writings, and is only to be accounted for by the inexhaustible aliment they furnish to our own thoughts, and the sympathetic activity they impart to our torpid faculties."

334.20 like the hiss of a snake amid the discourse of angels] Not located. See E T E, I, 354.

335.13 the order of a shop and not that of a tree] The tree is used as a symbol of organicism in Nature (1836), 79.18-23.

335.32 great works done...by one scholar] See 12.28 and 13.12.

336.11 "less than Archangel ruined..."] See P L, I, 593-594. Milton is drawn upon for the "Archangel Imagery" passim. See 187.11 and 325.4.

339.26 There's no fool like your learned fool.] For variations of this proverb, see Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England, Ann Arbor, 1950, pp. 231 and 360: "No fool like an old fool." "No knave like a learned knave." Emerson took his from the list of Spanish proverbs given in the many editions of Vicesimus Knox's Elegant Extracts...Prose. See Cameron, "Emerson, Thoreau, Elegant Extracts, and Proverb Lore," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 6 (I Quarter 1957), pp. 28-39, esp. p. 34.

340.7 highest office of the bard...of being priests and divine teachers...enjoining the practice of virtue] For other references to the office of the poet, see 150.15, 243.19ff., 273.21, 274.10, 274.28, 284.25, 291.1, 340.15, and note on 119.12.

340.15 impossibility of any man's being the good poet without first being a good man] Cf. 150.15 and 363.27.

340.20 the interpreter and arbiter of Nature, a Teacher of things divine...human, a master of manners] See note on 326.29.

340.31 raise the despised head of Poetry again] The condemnation and neglect of poetry in Bacon's age are reflected in Sir Philip Sidney's The Defence of Poesy, directed largely against Stephen Gosson's Puritanical attack on poets and dramatists in The School of Abuse (1579).

341.9 first thoughts, those moral decisions of the Reason...from the Divinity] See Journals, II, 436: "Opposition of first thoughts and common opinion. God has the first word. The devil has the second, but God has the last word. We distrust the first thought because we can't give the reason for it. Abide by it, there is a reason, and by and by, long hence, perhaps it will appear." This passage is built upon a quotation from Dugald Stewart found in [Augustus William Hare and Julius Charles Hare], Guesses at Truth by Two Brothers, (2 vols.) London, 1827, I, 143: "The true philosopher searches out...the propriety of the feeling, the wisdom of the opinion, the deep and living roots of every thing that is fair or enduring. For on such points, to use a happy phrase of Dugald Stewart's, 'our first and third thoughts will be found to coincide.'" Relating these ideas to the Coleridgean metaphysic, Emerson created such sentences as "First thoughts are from God" or "First thoughts are from the Reason." The Categorical Imperative of Immanuel Kant undoubtedly lies behind all his contemporary sources. For Emerson's frequent use of the concept, see E T E, I, 250, fn. 104; also 292 and 390. For the possible relevance of Buffier's Treatise on the First Truths, see Sir James Mackintosh, "Stewart's Introduction to the Encyclopaedia (2)," Edinburgh Review, XXXVI, no. 71 (Oct., 1821), pp. 220-267, esp. 261.

341.24 like a sermon in a beargarden] Another evidence of Emerson's platform humor.

346.35 the poet's eye gilds the dullest common] Cf. note on 162.23.

347.2 no more pollution than the sun-beam...on the carrion and the violet] Cf. the imagery of 292.21 and 327.12.

348.26 "Beauty with the ancients...the tongue on the balance of expression."] Johann Joachim Winckelmann's sentence appears with commentary in Journals, III, 451. Emerson's source was a volume in his own library: Augustus William Schlegel, A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature, tr. John Black, Phila., 1833, end of Lecture V: "The observation of Winkelmann [sic] on this subject is inimitable. He says,

that 'beauty with the ancients was the tongue on the balance of expression,' and in this sense the groups of Niobe and Laocoön are masterpieces; the one in the sublime and severe; the other in the studied and ornamental style."

348.31 admitted fact in Criticism...evidence of wit in a sentence as in a treatise] See note on 214.8.

348.32 whosoever has written one good sentence...ability to write a book] See note on 214.8.

349.2 a good sentence...its own apology...must affirm itself] See note on 214.8. Compare the language in the note on 162.9. The following is written on pages 7 and 8 of Emerson's little "Scrap Book" of miscellanies, discovered by Professor Rusk in 1945 and dated 1832-1833: "Every composition in prose or verse should contain in itself the reason of its appearance. So should every sentence. It should be born alive. a lively oracle that will preserve its own memory in the world until actions express it better. But thousands of volumes have been written & glitter in libraries of which this reason is yet to seek—does not appear. Then comes Adam Smith Bacon Burke Milton then comes any good sentence & its apology is its own worth. It makes its own pertinence." In Journal "B", Part I, p. 56 (May 15, 1835): "The thing set down in words is not therefore affirmed It must affirm itself or no forms of grammar & no verisimilitude can give it evidence; & no array of arguments. The sentence the book must also contain its own apology for being writ." [Quoted with the permission of Edward W. Forbes, Esq.]

349.21 Thus enraged my lines are hurl'd / Like the Sibyl's through the world] See note on 153.21.

350.23 No metre so difficult but will be tractable...only raise the temperature of the thought.] This imagery is indebted to the philosophy of the New Church—as Emerson conceived it. See Cameron, "Emerson and Swedenborgism: A Study Outline and Analysis," Emerson Society Quarterly, no. 10 (I Quarter 1958), pp. 14-20, esp. p. 16 bottom. "Thermometer" imagery is mentioned on page 14.

350.25 says Montaigne...whoever has...a lively and clear imagination ...will express it well enough] See Essays of Michael Seigneur de Montaigne, tr. Charles Cotton, (3rd ed., 3 vols.) London, 1700, I, 261. Emerson modernized Montaigne's "spritely." Elsewhere in his journals he quotes the passage given here and continues it: "For my part, I hold, and Socrates is positive in it, That whoever has in his Mind a spritely and clear Imagination, he will express it well enough in one kind or another, and, though he were Dumb, by Signs. Verbaque praevisam rem non invita sequentur. [Horace, De Arte Poetica]

> When once a thing conceiv'd is in the Wit,
> Words soon present themselves to utter it.

And as another as poetically says in Prose, cum Res Animum occupavere, Verba ambiunt. [Seneca] When things are once form'd in the Fancy, Words offer themselves in muster: and this other, ipsae res Verba rapiunt. The things themselves force Words to express them. [Cicero, De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum, III]"

351.24 some of our hymn books] For Emerson's thorough acquaintance with Boston hymnals and his capable criticism of them, see Cameron, "An Early Prose Work of Emerson," A L, XXII, no. 3 (Nov., 1950), pp. 332-338, and Emerson's sermon, "Hymn Books" (Oct. 2, 1831) in Young Emerson Speaks,

pp. 145-150.

352.17 The sea...is by a ship a speedier passage made] Cf. 38.12.

352.19 The winds who think they rule the mariner / Are ruled by him] Cf. pages 36-38.

352.26 that feeling which we call the moral sublime] See 149.8.

353.1 a devout soul reading the riddle of the world with a poet's eye...a saint's affections] See note on 224.24.

353.11 After being neglected...several new editions...one recently in America] See Herbert's Poems and Country Parson, (new ed. with life by Izaak Walton) London, 1824; Herbert's Country Parson, Church Porch &c., London, 1832; The Temple...with the Synagogue by Christopher Harvey, London, 1835. For the American edition, see The Life and Writings of George Herbert, with The Synagogue [by Christopher Harvey] in imitation of Herbert, Lowell, Mass., 1834. The revived interest in Herbert coincided with the birth of the Oxford Movement of reformers in the Church of England, led by Newman, Pusey and Keble.

354.10 Wotton...author of the epigrammatic hymn...called the "Happy life."] This appears in Reliquiae Wottonianae, (4th ed.) London, 1685 (copy in Emerson's library), pp. 383-384, under the title, "The Character of a happy Life" and begins:

> How happy is he born and taught,
> That serveth not anothers will?
> Whose Armour is his honest thought,
> And simple truth his utmost Skill?
> . . .
> This man is freed from servile hands,
> Of hope to rise, or fear to fall:
> Lord of himself, though not of Lands,
> And having nothing, yet hath all.

354.16 "The itch of disputation will prove the scab of the Church."] See Izaak Walton's "The Life of Sir Henry Wotton" prefixed to the Reliquiae Wottonianae, ed. cit., pp. [50-51]: "Hic jacet hujus Sententiae primus Author. DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, ECCLESIARUM SCABIES. Nomen aliàs quaere. Which may be Englished thus, Here lies the first Author of this sentence. THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION, WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH. Inquire his name elsewhere." Walton's "Lives" were reprinted in 1832 in the Library of Old English Prose Writers, [ed. Alexander Young], (9 vols.) Cambridge, Mass., 1831-1836.

354.18 "Critics were brushers of nobler men's clothes."] Quoted in Bacon's "Apophthegms," no. 217: "Sir Henry Wotton used to say; that critics were like brushers of noblemens clothes."

354.20 "An Ambassador was an honest man...sent...to lie for his country."] See Izaak Walton's "The Life of Sir Henry Wotton," loc. cit., p. [30]: "Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicae causâ." Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished: An Ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his Country."

354.22 "Souls grow wiser by resting."] See Izaak Walton, "Life of Sir Henry Wotton," for the inscription Sir Henry left in various houses

abroad when he returned to England from his last embassy: "Animas [Animae] fieri sapientiores quiescendo." See among the "Aphorisms of Education" in Reliquiae Wottonianae, London, 1685, p. 90: "They who travel far, easily miss their way." See Edward Waldo Emerson, Emerson in Concord: A Memoir, Boston & N.Y., [1888], p. 159: "When urged to any doing or spending that he did not feel like undertaking he would say, 'The strength of the Egyptians is to sit still.'" See Isaiah 30:7.

354.25 "That to be in safety...serviceable to his country...upon all occasions speak the truth."] See Izaak Walton's "The Life of Sir Henry Wotton," loc. cit., p. [43]: "...a Friend of Sir Henry Wotton's, being designed for the imployment of an Ambassador, came to Eaton, and requested from him some experimental Rules for his Prudent and Safe Carriage in his Negotiations; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible Aphorism; That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his Countrey, he should always, and upon all occasions speak the truth (it seems a State-Paradox) for, says Sir Henry Wotton, you shall never be believed; and by this means, your truth will secure your self, if you shall ever be called to any account; and 'twill also put your Adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions, and undertakings."

354.31 "Sir Philip Sidney's wit was the measure of congruity."] See Izaak Walton's "The Life of Sir Henry Wotton," loc. cit., p. [37]: "... as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, That it was the very measure of congruity)...."

354.33 il viso sciolto i pensieri stretti] See Wotton's "Letters to Several Persons" in Reliquiae Wottonianae, ed. cit., p. 356: "Sorry I was not to be at Eton when Mr. B. your Nephew, and my Friend came thither to visit me.... But I had some good while before, at another kind visitation... [given] him a Catholick Rule which was given me long since by an old Roman Courtier, with whom I tabled in Siena, and whose Counsels I begged.... Signor Arrigo (says he) There is one short remembrance will carry you safe through the whole World. I was glad to bear such a preservative contracted into so little room, and so besought him to honor me with it. Nothing but this (saith he) Gli Pensiere stretti, & il viso sciolto: That is, as I use to translate it, Your Thoughts close, and your Countenance loose." Emerson's phraseology suggests that he took the expression from Robert Southey's "The Reformation in Italy," Quarterly Review, XXXVII, no. 73 (Jan., 1828), pp. 50-84, esp. p. 74: "We have sometimes thought that the courage of Milton, in avowing his religious sentiments during his travels in Italy, has been more talked of than the risk justified. But, no doubt, at that time there was danger in it, for the suspicions which the attempt at a reformation had excited were not as yet laid to sleep. Sir Henry Wotton's advice, il viso sciolto, i pensieri stretti; Galileo's imprisonment, and the imprudence Milton was thought to be guilty of in paying him a visit...concur to prove that the alarm of the foregoing century had been great, and its effects lasting." See Johnson's "Life of Milton:" "...the death of his mother set him at liberty to travel, for which he obtained his father's consent, and Sir Henry Wotton's directions; with the celebrated precept of prudence, i pensieri stretti, ed il viso sciolto; 'thoughts close, and looks loose.'" Cf. Journals, III, 435.

357.17 These are the clerks and librarians of the Muses.] See note on 187.15.

358.6 as brief a date] Cf. Shakespeare's Sonnet XVIII, line 4: "Summer's lease hath all too short a date;" Sonnet CXXIII, line 5: "Our

dates are brief, and therefore we admire."

358.12 writers who carry an antidote against oblivion...who have to do not with opinions but with Principles] Emerson expressed a similar conviction in his Harvard prize dissertation on "The Present State of Ethical Philosophy" (1821), lines 348ff.: "The truths of morality must in all ages be the same; the praise of its teachers consists in the ability manifested in their development.... It is otherwise in the sciences which detect and measure the elements of matter.... But in morals, what is known now of the good and evil propensities of the heart, and of the modes of correcting and regulating them, was known two thousand years ago to every discerning and contemplative man...." See note on 285.2.

358.18 not...to particular ends but to the general nature of man... the permanent nature of man] Cf. note on 138.9.

358.26 the date of the common maxims that are in daily use among us] See all indexes under "proverbs."

359.5 simple aphorisms of Diogenes] See note on 250.7.

359.20 faculties of man...bearing to each other the relation of... concave spheres one within another] Not located.

359.26 "Man is good but men are bad."] For Emerson's primitivism and considerable reading in Rousseau, see note on 46.3.

359.27 under the vicious peculiarities of each individual, is a common nature...pure and divine] For the "Reason," "God within," "Categorical Imperative," etc., see the indexes of the published sermons in E T E, II, and the general index. See the early poem, "Gnothi Seauton," in E T E, I, 175ff.

359.33 utterance out of the heart's conviction...of a moral sentiment ...pertinent in ears of all men...to the remotest times] See note on 162.14.

360.2 Moral science is that Muse who alone hath immortality.] This line echoes the strong Kantian note in Emerson's sermons and in contemporary works like Wordsworth's "Ode to Duty." Goodness is immortality. Cf. 149.8 and 369.34.

360.23 The liturgy was written in Henry and Elizabeth's time and pervaded...with the deepest sentiment of piety.] Emerson here pays tribute to the service books of the Church of England: the First Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549); the Second Prayer Book (1552); Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book (1559). See note on 212.30.

360.25 in James's reign the Bible was anew translated and in a manner not to be surpassed.] He refers to the so-called King James Version, "authorized" for use in the Church of England and her daughter churches. This is the biblical version from which Emerson always quotes.

360.29 translated with the spirit in which a new work is written] Cf. note on 170.30. Emerson pays high tribute to the translators of the Authorized Version, asserting that they approached their task with a spirit akin to that which first gave it forth.

360.34 English devotional writers giving to that nation a character

of religion without superstition that has no resemblance but in the Hebrew race.] This is a high tribute to the Church of England or, in this country, to the Episcopal Church. The extent of Emerson's debt to Anglicanism—direct and indirect—remains to be assessed. Some of her sons are listed on p. 361. See the note on 212.30.

361.21 as Plato is the most conspicuous of the ancient ethical writers...they [the philosophical writers of the Seventeenth Century] were... versed in his works and called Platonists] Cf. 377.36.

363.27 he who would write good poems...his own life a heroic poem] See 150.15.

365.23 sketches of an erect and heroic mind] See note on 119.2.

366.8 Addison...Twenty thousand copies of the Spectator...in and about London...into every coffee house...upon every tea table] Emerson here revised and extended lines 631-638 of his College dissertation, "The Present State of Ethical Philosophy" (1821), the theme of which is similar to that of "Ethical Writers." He drew his facts from Isaac D'Israeli, "On Periodical Papers," Quarterly Review, I, no. 2 (May, 1809), pp. 398-405. See Journals, II, 15.

369.29 a selection might be made of moral sentences from English literature] Cf. 313.28.

369.34 for as these truths...are immutable, so our apprehension of them is the certificate of man's immortality] See note on 360.2.

370.1 The law which Ethics treats is that we mean by the nature of things] Cf. note on 25.6.

373.2 Instead of marrying his Muse to Nature after the ordination of God, he sought to make words and emotions suffice alone] See note on 131.13.

373.18 When a man knows nothing let him say nothing.] Cf. Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, I,i,96-97: "That therefore only are reputed wise, / For saying nothing." Cf. Ovid, Ars Amatoria, Bk. I, line 98: "What you do not know, relate as if you knew it well." (Quae nescieris, ut bene nota refer.) See esp. Caleb C. Colton, Lacon; or, Many Things in Few Words, (10th ed.) London, 1821, p. 99 (Reflection CLXXXIII): "When you have nothing to say, say nothing; a weak defence strengthens your opponent, and silence is less injurious than a bad reply."

374.1 that Canto [IV] is the best guidebook to the traveller who visits Venice, Florence, and Rome] Emerson carried Byron's Childe Harold with him into Italy, probably along with Goethe's Die Italiänische Reise. See E T E, I, 320, and Journals, III, 98-99.

375.10 In the high and strict sense of Imagination he can scarcely be said to exercise that faculty] See note on 289.5.

375.28 Let it not be said that this is not to be expected from the novelist.] On this subject, Emerson knew "Recollections of a Chaperon," Edinburgh Review, LVII, no. 116 (July, 1833), pp. 403-411. See esp. 404-405: "It is no longer necessary to defend the novel against those sweeping denunciations by which it was once assailed, and which were at no time either philosophical or candid. It is true they were once seemingly

justified by the multiplicity of bad publications of this kind, and the extreme paucity of good ones. But even if there had been no good ones, a truly sagacious and philosophical critic ought to have perceived the inherent capabilities of this species of composition. Fictitious narrative can often better illustrate those general truths which experience teaches, than the bare relation of partial facts; and many a novel, devoid of every other merit, may not be without its value as a faithful portrait of the manners of the day.... Novels are not meant for records—but they may become records nevertheless. This is an ulterior use, independent of present success, and not determined by the same qualities; save only the one great quality which ought to be alike essential to success, either present or to come—the adherence to abstract truth. This adherence is not indeed essential to the acquisition of present popularity so much as we could wish; but it is evidently essential in order that a novel may possess any claim to utility as a record of present habits to future times. The dullest novel possessing this quality, will, under this point of view, have a value, which we must deny to the most amusing production that possesses it not. In saying this, we mean only to recommend more strongly our adherence to abstract truth—not to advocate dulness, or decry the faculty of conveying amusement—for the novel, if dull, be it as faithful as it may, will not float down the stream of time; and unless it bears with it a rich freight of interest and entertainment, it will not reach posterity at all."

375.29 Truth will come from every writer, let the form be what it may] Cf. 259.22.

375.31 "Fictions have often been the vehicle of sublimest verities."] Not located. See, however, 259.22. It may be Emerson's summary of Francis Bacon's "Praefatio" to his De Sapientia Veterum Liber. The thought, of course, is commonplace. See, e.g., Thomas Campbell's "Lectures on Poetry, the Substance of which was Delivered at the Royal Institution," The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal, n.s. I, no. 1 (London, Jan., 1821), pp. 1-15. See also "Recollections of a Chaperon," loc. cit., pp. 404-405, from which I take the following excerpts: "Fictitious narrative can often better illustrate those general truths which experience teaches, than the bare relation of partial facts; and many a novel devoid of every other merit, may not be without its value as a faithful portrait of the manners of the day." "Novels are not meant for records—but they may become records nevertheless...." [See the full quotation in the note on 375.28.]

375.35 "What comes from the heart that alone goes to the heart...."] For another reference to what Emerson calls "that first canon of criticism," see the note on 162.14; note on 259.5 for quotation from Landor's Imaginary Conversations.

376.19 author of...valuable critical articles in the Edinburgh Review] The following are by Sir James Mackintosh: "De L'Allemagne, par Mad. de Staël," E R, XXII, no. 43 (Oct., 1813), pp. 198-238; "Stewart's Introduction to the Encyclopaedia (1)," E R, XXVII, no. 53 (Sept., 1816), pp. 180-244; "Junius," E R, XXIX, no. 57 (Nov., 1817), pp. 94-114; "Stewart's Introduction to the Encyclopaedia (2)," E R, XXXVI, no. 71 (Oct., 1821), pp. 220-267; "Partitions [of Poland]," E R, XXXVII, no. 74 (Nov., 1822), pp. 462-527. Emerson praised the last in Letters, I, 134.

376.25 the history of Ethical Philosophy...published a few years since in Boston] It actually appeared in Philadelphia. See Sir James Mackintosh, A General View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, Phila., 1832. Emerson's copy is now in the Houghton Library: *AC85.Em345.Zy832m.

376.27 hint...dropped...in the Edinburgh Review...Ethical Science... in fragments in various books] See Sir James Mackintosh, "Stewart's Introduction to the Encyclopaedia (1)," loc. cit., 190ff.

377.3 he was occupied with the History of England...Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia] See Sir James Mackintosh, The Cabinet History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, (3 vols.) Phila., 1830, 1831, 1833.

377.5 the History of the Revolution of 1688 by itself] See Sir James Mackintosh, History of the Revolution in England in 1688, Comprising a View of the Reign of James II...to which is prefixed a Notice of the Life, Writings, and Speeches of Sir James Mackintosh, London, 1834.

377.15 the unerring moral judgment of the historian presides as a god among men] See note on 360.2.

377.36 He [Coleridge] was of that class of philosophers called Platonists...of the most Universal school...that take the most...reverent views of man's nature] These were the "Cambridge Platonists." Cf. 361.21.

378.1 His eye was fixed upon Man's Reason as the faculty in which the very Godhead manifested itself or the Word was anew made flesh] For Coleridge's philosophy of the Reason, as it affected Emerson, see E T E, I, 200-217. For the Biblical allusion, see John 1:14——"And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." Note on 136.3.

378.5 regard every man as the most sacred object in the Universe, the Temple of Deity] For lyrical treatments of this theme, see Emerson's "Gnothi Seauton" (1831) and the "Statement of the First Philosophy" (1835). See E T E, I, 175-179 and 191-194. See also the note on 181.9.

378.11 his private soldier of the Parliament] Notes on 149.6; 383.2.

378.16 Plato, "He shall be as a god to me who shall rightly define and divide."] Emerson handles the line with freedom, sometimes expressing it as: "He is a god to me who shall rightly define and divide." His source was not directly Plato but by way of Bacon's Novum Organum, tr. Peter Shaw, (2 vols.) London, 1802, II, 21: "Lastly; these [aphorisms] have a very high prerogative; as being eminently serviceable in the forming of definitions, especially the particular kind; and again, in the making of divisions, or distributions of natures; with regard to which, Plato said well, That he is to be held as a God, who knows perfectly how to define and divide." Of all Emerson's sources, only Coleridge was characterized in such high terms.

378.27 He [Coleridge] has made admirable definitions...Reason and Understanding...an Idea and a Conception...Genius and Talent...Fancy and Imagination...nature and end of Poetry...Idea of a State] See the index of E T E for the relevance of these to Emerson's development.

378.29 thought truly that all confusion of thought tended to confusion of action] See Coleridge's The Statesman's Manual, quoted in E T E, I, 143.

379.26 In his own judgment, half the Biography and the third volume of the Friend...with a few poems were all that he would preserve] Coleridge states this in a letter dated Feb. 28, 1819, published in The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres, (London, Sept. 13, 1834, pp. 628-629). It is reprinted in E T E, I, 155-156. Emerson refers to it in Journals, III, 361.

380.15 by the eternal law of Providence the Present and the Future are always rivals; he who writes for the wise alone writes for few at any one time] Cf. 186.7.

380.27 the piercing sight which made the world transparent to him] For the imagery of transparency and opakeness in Emerson, see the indexes of E T E. See also 110.23, 132.27, 215.12.

380.31 death hath now set his seal upon him] Shakespeare is fond of like imagery: See Richard II, II,ii,3: "There is my gage, the manual seal of death, That marks thee out for hell." Also Sonnet LXXIII, line 8: "Death's second self, that seals up all in rest." "Seal" in this sense means to fix or fasten or secure.

380.32 his true character and greatness begin to be felt...he...takes his lofty station] For Emerson's deep reaction to Coleridge's death and to the elegiac article written by Henry Nelson Coleridge, see "Coleridge and the Genesis of Emerson's Uriel," P Q, XXX, no. 2 (April, 1951), pp. 212-217; and "Coleridge's Poetical Works," Quarterly Review, LII, no. 103 (Aug., 1834), pp. 1-38.

381.3 who write what they know and feel, and who therefore know that their Record is true] See note on 304.15.

381.11 A degree of humiliation must be felt by the American scholar] This passage anticipates Emerson's "The American Scholar" and reflects a number of periodical articles by Americans who shared Emerson's feelings. See my forthcoming Emerson's Reading in Periodicals Through 1836.

381.28 in every civilized community a disposition to put the forms for things] See note on 131.13. See also 75.14 and 175.15-16.

381.34 they have lost their time] Cf. 213.31.

381.34 The writer who takes his subject from his ear and not from his heart] See note on 162.14. Cf. 375.35.

382.3 it still takes an ounce to balance an ounce] See 319.5.

382.5 Life only can impart life] Cf. "Like only can know like" in the note on 170.30.

382.6 we can only be valued as we make ourselves valuable] This is a variation of a Spanish proverb of which Emerson made frequent use: "Every man is valued as he makes himself valuable." Sometimes: "A man is valued as he makes himself valuable." It appears in his long list of Spanish proverbs partly printed in Journals, II, 480-481.

382.12 Every man besides his access to universal truth, has a law of his being.] See E T E, I, 366 and 378. This uniqueness or sacred character of every man is a correlative of Emerson's doctrine of Self-reliance.

382.16 "Look in thy heart, and write." See Sir Philip Sidney, Astrophel and Stella, Sonnet 1: "Fool! said my Muse to me, look in thy heart, and write."

382.28 Truth and Beauty always face each other...each tends to become the other] For this Platonic or Neo-Platonic doctrine, see the index of E T E and the lecture, "Michel Angelo," esp. 100.21.

382.32 a book full of words is thought...as good as a book full of things] See note on 131.13.

382.33 literature becomes the imitation of imitations] See note on 74.31 and 131.11.

383.1 that the cruse of truth shall run no more oil] See note on 230.17.

383.2 Nothing is infinite but truth] Emerson here probably reflects the remarkable words of the soldier in Parliament's Army during the English Civil War which Coleridge "filtered" for The Friend. They are edited in E T E, I, 106: "I have no life but truth; and if truth be advanced by my suffering, then my life also. If truth live, I live; if justice live, I live; and these can not die, but by any man's suffering for them are enlarged, enthroned. Death can not hurt me. I sport with him, am above his reach. I live an immortal life." See also 378.11 and note on 149.6.

383.4 sphere...whose centre is everywhere, and whose circumference is nowhere] See John Norris, An Essay Towards the Theory of an Ideal or Intelligible World, (2 vols.) London, 1701-1704, I, p. 389: "...can never go out of the sphere of truth whos centre is every where and whose circumference is nowhere."

383.9 sublime ejaculation of St. Austin to Truth: "And yet, as rich as thy furniture is, O city of God! thy gates stand always open...."] Emerson found this in John Norris, An Essay Towards the Theory of an Ideal or Intelligible World, ed. cit., I, 431. It is a quotation from Bk. II of St. Augustine's De Libero Arbitrio. Emerson copied it also into Journals, III, 500.

383.20 The wise man ever finds himself conscious of knowing nothing] Emerson here recalls Socrates, discussed in his dissertation on the "Character of Socrates" (1820). See André Dacier's "A Discourse on Plato" prefixed to The Works of Plato Abridg'd, (2 vols.) London, 1772, I, p. 11: "Socrates...he only knew that he knew nothing.... And if I am not mistaken, we shall find in this Ignorance a marvellous Fund of Knowledge."

383.22 Truth is new and perfect to every mind and to every moment.] On Emerson's "existentialism" see note on 71.23. See the Orphic Poet's lines in the concluding chapter of Nature (1836).

383.27 Every man...has a nature far greater than he knows and resources on which he has never drawn.] Cf. the quotation from Wordsworth's "The River Duddon," last line of Sonnet 34, on 104.14.

383.32 every...inquiring mind is a candidate for truth] For the autobiographical significance of this line, see E T E, I, 378: "There are two objects between which the mind vibrates like a pendulum; One, the desire of truth; the other, the desire of Repose. He in whom the love of Repose predominates, will accept the first creed he meets, Arianism, Calvinism, Socinianism; he gets rest & reputation; but he shuts the door of Truth. He in whom the love of Truth predominates will keep himself aloof from all moorings & afloat. He will abstain from dogmatism & recognize all the opposite negations between which as walls his being is swung. On one side he will feel that God is impersonal. One [sic] the other, that the Universe is his work. He submits to the inconvenience of suspense & imperfect opinion but he is a candidate for truth & respects the highest law of his being." Emerson also remembered Bacon's line: "Silence is the candidate for truth."

384.4 A man by his intellectual nature may derive a similar evidence of his immortality to that which comes from the moral sense.] The intuitional or mystical "Pure Reason" (called by Coleridge the "Theoretical Reason") can give us evidence of immortality as easily as the Moral Sense or "Practical Reason." Emerson's best gloss on this statement appears in the "Statement of the First Philosophy" (1835) in E T E, I, 191-194.

384.10 awaked from the sleep of custom, and beheld himself and all nature from the ground of the Absolute] For interesting parallels in Emerson's sources, see "custom" and "Absolute" in the indexes and 226.19.

384.13 What was painful is pleasing, what was foul is fair.] Cf. 10.10, 17.15, 78.34, 166.16, and note on 327.8.

384.19 I believe in the riches of the Reason and not of Plato or Paul] Here Emerson places Coleridge's active, present, intuitive principle above historic revelations. Coleridge had said in On the Constitution of Church and State: "The world in which I exist is another world indeed, but not to come." For Emerson's "existentialism" see note on 71.23.

384.20 "He that has been born has been a First Man."] Not located. Cf. the Orphic Poet's lines in the last chapter of Nature (1836). See also 165.28. Cf. Samuel Bailey, Essays on the Pursuit of Truth, London, 1829, pp. 58-59: "It has been well remarked, that no complex or very important truth can be transplanted in full maturity from one mind to another; it must be sown, strike root, and go through the whole process of vegetation, before it can have a living connection with the new soil, and flourish in complete vigour and development." Bailey drew this from Letters to a Young Man whose Education had been Neglected, in which it appears as follows: "No complex or very important truth was ever yet transferred in full development from one mind to another: truth of that kind is not a piece of furniture to be shifted; it is a seed which must be sown and pass through the several stages of growth." Cf. Bacon's "We are more ancient than those who went before us." Quoted in John Playfair, Dissertation Second: Exhibiting A General View of the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science, (2 parts), [Boston, 1820?], I, 51.

385.23 the want of habits of severe reflexion] Emerson is here repeating the theme of Coleridge's Aids to Reflection.

385.24 men open the eye of sense, but the iron lids of the Reason are slow to unclose] See note on 285.15. For the tendency of men to prefer living in the realm of the Understanding, see Emerson's "Statement of the First Philosophy" (1835). See Journals, III, 539.

424.19 The health of the mind is to work in Sport...good humor] The third test which Emerson proposes for genius or greatness seems to have been supplied him by the Essays of Michael Seigneur de Montaigne, tr. Charles Cotton, (3 vols.) London, 1700, I, chap. XXV ("Of the Education of Children"), p. 245: "The Soul that entertains Philosophy, ought to be of such a Constitution of Health, as to render the Body in like manner healthfull too; she ought to make her Tranquillity and Satisfaction shine so as to appear without, and her Contentment ought to fashion the outward Behaviour to her own Mould, and consequently to fortifie it with a graceful Confidence, an active Carriage, and with a serene and contented Countenance. The most manifest sign of Wisdom is a continual Chearfulness ...." See note on 275.16.